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CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

PERSIA

PART 1

January to December 1947

(Continued from

"Further Correspondence respecting Eastern Affairs," Part 67)

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CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING PERSIA

PART 1—JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1947

(Continued from "Further Correspondence respecting Eastern Affairs," Part 67)

CHAPTER I.—MISCELLANEOUS

E 1/1/34

No. 1

SITUATION IN TABRIZ

Consul-General Carse to Mr. Bevin. (Received 1st January, 1947)

(No. 35)

His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him Tabriz despatch No. 47 of 16th December, 1946, to His Majesty's Ambassador, Tehran, relating to the situation in Tabriz in the interval between the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party and the entry of Central Government troops.

Tabriz, 16th December, 1946

Enclosure in No. 1

Mr. Carse to Mr. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 47)

Sir, *Tabriz, 16th December, 1946*

With reference to my recent telegrams relative to the state of affairs in Tabriz after the collapse of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party, I have the honour to report that much concern was felt locally at the delay in the arrival of the Central Government troops.

2. As you will recall, the President of the Provincial Council, Ali Shabistary, and the Governor-General signified their intention on 11th December to comply with the wishes of the Central Government and to admit Persian troops for security reasons during the elections. It was expected that, following upon this announcement in Tabriz, there would be, inevitably, a period of disorder until the

Central Government forces arrived, and so the sooner these came the better for all concerned.

3. The Governor-General, Dr. Javid, appealed to the people to keep the peace and at the same time he set about the organisation of a special police made up of former policemen and volunteers, who could be relied upon to co-operate with him. The situation was complicated by two factors, however. In the first place the popular feeling ran high against the Democrats, and it was well known that Javid himself had been very closely associated with these, although he had tried, at the same time, to keep on as good terms as possible with the Central Government. In the second place, arms and ammunition had fallen into the hands of irresponsible elements as a result of Pishevari's desperate policy of handing these out to all and sundry. There were, consequently, bodies of men roaming the city from the night of 11th December until the morning of 14th December, some trying to keep order (and to bolster up their courage) by firing their weapons into the air in an almost continuous barrage, and others engaged in searching out Democrats for the purpose of shooting them and sacking their houses or shops. Further, determined resistance was being offered by groups of Muhajjirs, who were holding out, in the hope of ultimate relief, at various points in the town.

4. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that an atmosphere of grave

anxiety pervaded the city. The citizens feared for their persons and property, and in actual fact there was no one who could claim to have any control over the situation. But people had also another fear at their hearts. The disorder was taking on such proportions that if it were allowed to continue it might well serve as a pretext for the Russians to send troops to Tabriz "to protect their interests." By the afternoon of 13th December the gloomiest forebodings were expressed: and no one professed to understand the dangerous delay in the arrival of the Persian troops. The lawless elements, encouraged by their new-found freedom, made no secret of their intention "to make a night of it."

5. A wave of relief swept over Tabriz when, at 5 in the afternoon of the same day, the advance guard of the Persian army entered the town. Granted, the troops were few, but at least here was some suggestion of responsible authority. Resisting Muhajjirs in the centre of the town were quickly disposed of by the army, and although the night was far from quiet, as the troops, tired from their long journey, needed rest, nevertheless, they lost no time on the following day in establishing security posts at various points in the town. The Officer Commanding, General Hachimi, declared martial law, ordered all persons who had not been authorised to carry arms to surrender them without delay and appointed Colonel Zanguineh as Military Governor of Tabriz.

6. In the meantime the Governor-General, Dr. Javid, had lost all semblance of authority. I went to his office on the morning of 14th December to acquaint myself with the general position, but found that he had left for the town hall, where General Hachimi was installed. While on his way there Dr. Javid was the subject of a hostile demonstration and was shot at, although he escaped unhurt. On 15th December both he and Shabistary (President of the Provincial Council of the Azerbaijan Democrats) were molested, and I learned later that they had "left for Tehran," presumably under surveillance, if not actually in custody.

7. Rumours regarding the other Azerbaijan Democrat leaders who had disappeared were heard on all sides, some maintaining that they had all escaped to Russia and others declaring that they were

still within the province and must be found and dealt with. It was established, however, that "General" Danishiyan, commander of the Azerbaijan forces, had robbed the Bank Melli in Mianeh of some 2 million rials before his retreat from the town and had sent this valuable booty north by truck. By good fortune the truck was captured before it was able to reach the frontier and the greater part of the money was recovered. Danishiyan is now believed to be in Turkey. The Persian troops put an end to the activities of the armed civilians who were shooting any Democrats they could find. The troops confined themselves to arresting the latter and transferring them to the already overcrowded goal.

8. I found, somewhat to my surprise, that my American colleague was endeavouring to make capital out of the turn of events as from 11th December by riding round the town in his motor car and graciously acknowledging the plaudits of the mob. As this came on top of the most bitter complaints from Tabriz radio of American intervention in favour of the "reactionary Qavam," it seemed to me to be rather unwise. This strengthened me in the decision which I had reached previously to restrict my own appearances in town and those of my staff to the minimum consistent with our duties.

9. It is to be hoped that, before long, the Central Government will make their wishes known as regards the elections. No advantage whatsoever attaches to delay in the present circumstances. The people generally are on the crest of a wave of enthusiasm for the Shah and a united Persia, but this wave will not keep rolling along. Dilatoriness and indifference to the wishes of the Azerbaijanis have been causes of past trouble. The people are sturdy and independent by nature and their adherence to the Tehran Government must not, in the long run, be taken for granted. They demand, and have a right to expect, fair treatment economically, freedom from oppression and general security. Failure to provide these speedily will surely undo all that has just been done.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.

W. MITCHELL CARSE.

POSITION OF TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 7th January, 1947)

(No. 522)

Sir, *Tehran, 31st December, 1946.*

With reference to my telegram No. 1879 of 20th November last, I have the honour to inform you that, at a meeting on 21st December between A. Aramesh, the new Persian Minister of Labour and Propaganda, and the labour attaché at this embassy, the position of trade union organisations in Persia was fully discussed and in some respects clarified.

2. The labour attaché expressed his conviction that the development of free and representative associations of workers is a most urgent feature of the Minister's programme. Political experiences with the Tudeh organisation did not in any way disprove the workers' need for representation, nor their right to form democratic organisations. He urged that the approach should not be by substitution of Democratic Party for Tudeh and by making membership of a State-sponsored party the prime consideration. Union structure should be developed from the workmen's level on the basis of identity of interests and common aim.

3. The Minister expressed agreement and said that he proposed to foster local growth and to make clear distinction between right of association and right to subscribe to any political opinion, but if union members also became members of the Democratic Party so much the better.

4. The labour attaché suggested that the preparation and issue of regulations giving unions a status in law and prescribing a simple procedure for formation need not await general election results, nor any eventual change in ministerial posts or organisation. The Minister agreed, and was of the opinion that the preparation of such regulations was the next duty of the High Labour Council. This was, in fact, confirmed by the Under-Secretary of the Ministry, and it was agreed that draft regulations submitted to the Ministry by this embassy two months ago would be studied and that further help would be sought.

5. A further indication of the Government's policy was given in an interview granted by Mr. Aramesh on 24th December

to the correspondent of the French News Agency in Tehran (see my telegram No. 2058, paragraph 3). I enclose a copy⁽¹⁾ of the record of this interview published in the press, from which it will be seen that, when asked whether the Central Committee of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions (the Tudeh organisation) has complete freedom of action, the Minister replied: "All workers' associations and organisations have complete freedom of action within the restrictions of law, but it is obvious that, if, as was the case with certain members of the Central Committee, they illegally profit from the freedom which they enjoyed and threaten public security, the Government will intervene." To a request for information about the new workers' organisations and their relationship with the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Minister replied: "Use by union (Tudeh) leaders of their powers for purposes contrary to the workers' interests, and absence of an organisation which can properly protect workers' interests, were reasons why the workers themselves lost confidence in the Central Committee of Trade Unions and created a new syndicate for the defence of their rights and interests. With the formation of this new organisation the old Central Committee of Trade Unions has no further reason for existence, and it is obvious that it will be the new organisation which will enter into contact with the World Federation of Trade Unions."

6. It is evident that the Minister has much faith in the formation of trade unions under the ægis of the Democratic Party, of which he has been Secretary-General since July 1946. The dangers of such a policy are, however, being continually pointed out to him, and it is hoped to ensure that the regulations now being prepared afford the opportunity for the spontaneous development of trade unions outside the direct control of a political party.

7. Failure to implement throughout the country the Factory Regulations which were approved by the Council of Ministers on 28th August last is an unfortunate obstacle to the speedy development of

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

workers' organisations. Factory Councils would enable workers' spokesmen to gain experience in negotiations, and these individuals might then be encouraged to accept the greater responsibilities and duties of trade union leaders and officials. Whilst the delay in implementing the regulations is regrettable, the imminence of the elections makes immediate implementation difficult, for under existing conditions the present Government might be unable to resist the temptation to establish Factory Councils for political ends. I do not therefore propose to urge them to imple-

ment the regulations until after the general election. Similarly, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will not be pressed to accelerate the creation of Factory Councils or to encourage the formation of workers' organisations in Khuzistan until after the elections.

8. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Labour Counsellor at British Embassy, Cairo, and to the headquarters of the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 492/40/34

No. 3

QUARTERLY REPORT OF EVENTS IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)

(No. 3)

Sir, *Tehran, 4th January, 1947*

With reference to my despatch No. 433 of 20th October last, I have the honour to transmit herewith a report on outstanding events in Persia during the past quarter.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Bagdad, the Government of India, Air Headquarters Iraq, British Middle East Office, Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, and to all consuls in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 3

Report for Quarter ending 31st December, 1946

Since the end of September most of the matters mentioned in the last report have reached conclusion. The Shah has issued his rescript for the elections to begin; the Azerbaijan question has been settled by the despatch of Government troops to Tabriz; and tribal disorders in other parts of Persia have been quelled. By the end of October the press campaign against His Majesty's Government had ceased and the Persian Government had dropped their demand for the recall of His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz.

2. After the investment of Shiraz and the occupation of Bushire by the rebels in September, the Prime Minister resumed negotiations with Nasir Khan Qashqai and on 18th October it was announced that the

Qashqai and their subordinate clans had accepted the following terms: the establishment of a Provincial Council for Fars; the increase, by future legislation, of the number of Deputies from Fars in the Majlis; a general amnesty; the surrender of all arms taken in fighting from the Government troops; the extension of the State Railway to Shiraz; and the expansion of the health and education services. It does not appear that the Boir Ahmedi and the Haiat Daoudi tribes of the south of the province were a party to this agreement. Further skirmishes occurred with the Boir Ahmedi and they had not really been brought under control by the end of the quarter. The Haiat Daoudi and their associates remained in occupation of Bushire until mid-November when the Government arranged with them for the former Governor to return and take over the administration. At the end of December the Prime Minister ordered that the elections were not to take place in Fars until all arms taken from the Government forces had been surrendered.

3. Meanwhile, the political scene in Tehran had become the centre of interest. As described in paragraph 6 below, general elections were called on 5th October under strong Soviet pressure. The Tudeh Party thereupon began to agitate for the creation of a "democratic front" to include their own party, the Prime Minister's Democrat Party of Persia and the Azerbaijani Democrats as well as one or two minor groups. Discussion was joined with a view to dividing the seats in the new Majlis in

advance of the election, but the Tudeh claims were so exaggerated that it eventually petered out. On 17th October the Government resigned after three Ministers belonging to the Tudeh Party had declined to attend a meeting of the Council of Ministers as a protest against the appointment, without reference to them, of Governors-General at Kermanshah, Isfahan and Tehran, to replace three officials who were Tudeh sympathisers, and because they considered that the settlement of the Qashqai revolt was too favourable to the insurgents, one of whose declared aims was to destroy the influence of the Tudeh Party in the south. The Shah thereupon requested Qavam to form a new Government, which he did, omitting any Tudeh representative and also the former Minister for Labour and Propaganda, Muzaffar Firuz.

4. The policy of the new Government, as announced in a broadcast speech by the Prime Minister at the end of October, was to hold general elections and to give effect to the programme of reforms sponsored by the Democrat Party of Persia. He declared that they wished to maintain good relations with all foreign Powers, but he commented adversely on the unfriendly tone of Moscow Radio and suggested that good relations with Great Britain would be advanced if British officials were to refrain from interference in the internal affairs of Persia. In view of the clear assurances which the Secretary of State had recently given on this subject, His Majesty's Ambassador was instructed to protest to the Prime Minister about this tendentious reference to the activities of British officials in Persia. Qavam maintained, however, that he had meant no ill and instructed the Persian Ambassador in London to offer explanations to the Secretary of State.

5. The exclusion of three of the Tudeh Ministers marked the end of the Prime Minister's efforts to find a basis for collaboration with the Tudeh Party, and also the failure of the Tudeh to establish a stranglehold on the Government. Since then the Prime Minister has rapidly built up the organisation and influence of his own party, the Democrat Party of Persia, at the expense of the Tudeh and has employed the Administration to attack the party organisation throughout the country. He has also caused the arrest of a number of Tudeh Party agitators and the banishment of others to distant parts of the

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country. He has, in addition, sought to break up the workmen's unions affiliated to the Tudeh Party and to organise unions under the aegis of the Democrat Party. The heaviest blow to the Tudeh was, however, the defeat of the Azerbaijan Democrat movement. At the end of the quarter most of the party newspapers had been suppressed and for the time being it had been reduced to impotence. The Prime Minister justifies this action against the Tudeh Party on the grounds that it was a subversive organisation inimical to public security, and the facts which came to light at the end of December about the way in which the party had armed and planned for insurrection in Mazandaran lend colour to this view.

6. On 5th October the Shah signed a decree authorising the holding of general elections for 15th Majlis. This step was taken after the Soviet Ambassador had sternly pointed out that only three weeks remained in which to implement the promise given by the Prime Minister in March that the Perso-Russian oil proposal should be presented to the Majlis within seven months. There was considerable anxiety about holding elections in Azerbaijan, since it was foreseen that this province would return a large Communist bloc to the Majlis. The religious leaders advocated the postponement of the elections throughout the country until Government authority had been restored in Azerbaijan. Others took the view that the elections should be held in all parts of the country except in Azerbaijan. On 5th November the Prime Minister announced his decision to send inspectors appointed by the Ministry of the Interior and accompanied by armed forces to every constituency to ensure free polling and the orderly conduct of the elections throughout the country. He emphasised that these arrangements would also apply to Azerbaijan. When informing His Majesty's Ambassador he added that if any resistance was encountered he would overcome it by force. The Soviet Ambassador, on hearing of the announcement called on the Prime Minister and asked whether it was intended to despatch troops to Azerbaijan. He was told that this was so and that the decision was in accordance with the exercise of its normal functions by the Government. He returned on the following day and delivered a warning that the arrival of armed forces in Azerbaijan was likely to lead to disturbances in the

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vicinity of the Russian frontier and thereby create a situation which the Soviet Government could not ignore. He accordingly advised the Prime Minister in a "friendly manner" not to send its armed forces. M. Dekanosov gave a similar warning to the Persian Ambassador in Moscow and added that the Soviet Government was impatient at the delay in giving effect to the Prime Minister's undertaking regarding the oil legislation. In reporting the communication of the Soviet Foreign Office, Prince Firuz, the Persian Ambassador in Moscow, sent a personal warning that the effect of the Prime Minister's policy would be disastrous. Qavam, however, adhered to his plan.

7. Dr. Javid, the Governor-General of Azerbaijan, and the other delegates who had been in Tehran since August, returned early in November to Tabriz without having reached agreement with the Persian Government. Thereafter when the Prime Minister announced that forces would be sent into Azerbaijan to maintain order for the elections the Azerbaijanis loudly declared their intention to resist. The Prime Minister thereupon telegraphed to the Governor-General that, if a clash ensued, local authorities would be held responsible and larger forces would follow to reassert the Government's authority. At the same time, after consulting the American Ambassador and His Majesty's Ambassador, he instructed the Persian representative at United Nations Organisation to inform the Security Council of the warnings received from the Russian authorities and of the intentions of the Persian Government. The army entered the province on 10th December. The Azerbaijanis offered some resistance near Mianeh but were soon dislodged from their positions and effectively bombed in retreat by the Persian air force. On 11th December resistance ceased and the forces of the Central Government advanced unopposed to Tabriz. Pishavari, the Secretary of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party and several of his associates, fled over the Russian border and the former Governor-General, Dr. Javid, together with the President of the Provincial Council, were brought to Tehran under escort. Mopping-up operations followed in various parts of the province and a week later the whole of Azerbaijan was brought under control of the Central Government.

8. When the Government of Azerbaijan collapsed, Qazi Muhammad, the leader of the Kurdish Nationalist organisation at

Mahabad, surrendered and Mulla Mustafa Barzani and the Kurdish chiefs associated with him made overtures for submission.

9. It is now evidently the Government's intention to regard all undertakings entered into with the Azerbaijan Democrats during the past year as having been rendered null and void by the armed resistance offered to the despatch of security forces for the elections and in future to administer the province in the same way as the other provinces of the country.

10. The relations of His Majesty's Government with the Persian Government during this period have progressively improved. The statement of the Secretary of State in the House of Commons that instructions had been given to British officers in Persia not to interfere in internal affairs and that no subversive element could expect material or moral support from His Majesty's Government gave satisfaction to the Persian Government and brought to an end the difficult situation which had been created by the fantastic charges levelled against Mr. Trott. Later on the Prime Minister asked for the advice of His Majesty's Government and was grateful for the message sent to him by the Secretary of State immediately after the entry of Persian troops into Azerbaijan to the effect that in the event of this action leading to international difficulties, His Majesty's Government would support the Persian Government at the Security Council.

11. Good relations between America and Persia have also advanced. Attacks on "dollar imperialism" ceased with the suspension of Tudeh newspapers and the State Department's promise to help Persia in the Security Council if the Soviet Government supported resistance in Azerbaijan strengthened American influence with the present Government. At the end of the year a highly qualified American mission arrived in Tehran to advise the Government on economic and social development.

12. Russian influence and prestige have suffered a severe setback as a result of the failure of their policy in Azerbaijan.

13. The affairs of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company have been calmer during this quarter. No political disturbances occurred in the oilfields or at the refinery, but there were a number of robberies with violence in Abadan, due to inadequate police control. The Tudeh Party has gone underground for the time being and most of their leaders have been arrested.

14. A labour attaché joined the staff of this embassy in November and the Persian authorities have readily consulted him on labour questions. A labour adviser, and several industrial relations officers, have been appointed by the A.I.O.C. in Abadan. Early in December the A.I.O.C. concluded an agreement with the Persian Government to facilitate the conversion of the company's sterling payments for royalties and for current expenses in Persia. It was agreed that until July 1947 the Bank of England will sell gold to the National Bank in respect of 60 per cent. of the sterling balances acquired by Persia during the currency of the agreement. The Treasury representative was also instrumental in settling a tiresome dispute between the Imperial Bank of Iran and the National Bank by arranging for the deposit of 15 per cent. of the Imperial Bank of Iran's assets with the National Bank and the taking up of Persian Govern-

ment securities to cover a further 15 per cent.

15. An important contract has been awarded to Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners for the water supply of Tehran and the General Electric Company has signed a contract with the Tehran Telephone Company for the extension of the automatic telephone system.

16. The Shah has been more in the public eye than ever before during the past three months. After qualifying as a pilot in the Persian air force, he has visited various parts of his country, piloting his own plane. These were the first Imperial visits since His Majesty's accession. On the occasion of his birthday after an impressive military parade, His Majesty was given a great ovation by a crowd of 10,000 people. He is also making himself popular by generous contributions to charitable funds and by financial support for irrigation and other constructive schemes.

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No. 4

SITUATION IN FARS PROVINCE

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)

(No. 4)

Tehran, 4th January, 1947

Sir, It has recently been announced officially that Mahdi Fatimi has been reappointed Governor-General of the Fars Province in the place of Javad Bushiri who has been recalled after holding office for only three months.

2. Fatimi was withdrawn last autumn at the time of the Fars tribal revolt which assumed the style of the "Fars National Movement." He is disliked by the Qashgai and his reappointment may indicate a decision by the Government to change for firmer treatment the markedly conciliating methods employed by both the former G.O.C. Zahidi and the late Governor-General Bushire.

3. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that the course of events in Azerbaijan has profoundly shaken the leaders of the "Fars National Movement" who

are now seeking to obtain the Prime Minister's permission to merge their "movement" with that of the Iran Democrat Party. This permission has apparently not yet been given and the Qashgai are showing some anxiety about the Prime Minister's intentions concerning them.

4. As I informed you in my telegram No. 2053 of 27th December, the Prime Minister has ordered the suspension of election preliminaries in Fars until all the military equipment taken from the Government's forces during the recent tribal revolt is handed back. Some newspapers have reported that this order was followed by a general surrender of arms and ammunition by several tribes, but this story has not been confirmed officially and the ban on the elections remains in force.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

PERSIA: PRESS INTERVIEW GIVEN BY MINISTER OF LABOUR: THE FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th January)

(No. 12)
Sir, Tehran,
8th January, 1947

With reference to my despatch No. 522 of 31st December, I have the honour to enclose record of a press interview⁽¹⁾ given on 6th January by A. Aramesh, Persian Minister of Labour and Propaganda, at which important statements were made about the future of trade unions in Persia.

2. The Minister gave a categorical denial that the Government or the Democrat Party had intervened in the constitution of the new unions that are now in progress of formation. He quoted as proof of non-intervention the fact that leaders of the formerly powerful Tudeh Union still sit as representatives of the workers on the High Labour Council and other Government committees. It is known that dismissal from these committees of Dr. Jowdat and Dr. Radmanesh (Tudeh representatives) was recently being considered by M. Aramesh, but he was compelled to admit that the two have done useful work and that there do not at present appear to be equally competent alternatives. The Minister is therefore taking the wise course of leaving workers' representatives on consultative committees to the decision of the workers themselves.

3. M. Aramesh's reference at the press interview to recognition of new trade unions by the World Federation of Trade Unions was not unexpected. Originally there was a proposal to endeavour to obtain cancellation of Tudeh recognition in favour of new unions by arguing majority membership. This proposal, which would have invited manipulation of records, has now been discarded in favour of dual recognition. The advantages of affiliation of all trade unions to a single Federation of Iranian Trade Unions which could properly claim to represent Persian workers have been discussed with Ministry of Labour officials. As non-Tudeh unions expand in number and membership the Minister may more actively support the policy of federation.

4. The Government's attitude to the proposed visit to Persia of a delegation

from the World Federation of Trade Unions has been modified. As mentioned in my letter of 18th December, 1946, the Prime Minister strongly resented the action of the central committee of the Tudeh Union in asking for a delegation and was prepared to refuse admittance to the country. It was known, however, that M. Aramesh and his senior officials were inclining to the view that to refuse facilities to a World Federation of Trade Unions delegation would only increase the suspicion in international labour circles that the central committee's complaints of ill-treatment had justification. M. Aramesh proposed to discuss the question on these lines with the Prime Minister, who is now presumably in agreement with the statement at the press interview that the Ministry would be happy to receive a World Federation of Trade Unions delegation. As reported in my telegram No. 28, the Government has, at the same time, attempted to discourage allegations that a curtain has been drawn over labour conditions in Persia by sending a telegram to the International Labour Office inviting them to send investigators.

5. M. Aramesh's statement that 25,000 Tehran workers have become members of new unions is perhaps an enthusiastic overstatement. Serious and methodical development of workers' organisations to replace the discredited Tudeh unions has barely commenced. Legislation to give unions status and authority is still at the discussion stage. Until there are more convincing signs of the spontaneous growth of organisations other than those sponsored by Tudeh or Democrat Parties, the quotation of membership figures cannot be proof of sound and representative trade unionism.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Cairo (for British Middle East Office) and to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

PERSIAN FRONTIERS

[WITH MAPS]

SUMMARY

1. *Introduction.*—Persia, which was formerly expansive herself at times, has been herself enclosed by other expansive Powers during the last century and a half. Nevertheless, her existing frontiers now seem to be stabilised. After the entry of British and Soviet troops into Persia in August, 1941, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and Persia signed a treaty (29th January, 1942) whereby the first two Powers recognised the integrity and independence of Persia. The Declaration of Tehran (1st December, 1943) by the three great Allied leaders constituted a further guarantee of Persia's frontiers and independence (paras. 1-2).

2. *Turkey.*—The Turco-Persian frontier, after many infringements and modifications and several fruitless attempts at delimitation, was finally demarcated by an international commission in 1913-14. Turkey's loss of Mesopotamia as a result of her defeat in the first Great War led to no more than the northern part of this frontier remaining as the border between her and Persia (paras. 3-17).

3. *Iraq.*—The frontier of Iraq with Persia was inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Persia recognised Iraq as an independent state in 1929, but a dispute over the Shatt al-Arab portion of the frontier persisted until 1937 (paras. 18-24).

4. *The U.S.S.R.*—In Transcaucasia and Azarbaijan the Russo-Persian treaties of Gulistan (1813) and Turkmanchai (1828) left Russia in possession not only of all territory to the north of the Aras, but also of some districts bordering on the Caspian Sea to the south of that river. Only a very slight modification of this frontier was afterwards made. East of the Caspian, the western half of the existing frontier was defined in 1881 and was subsequently demarcated. Slight modifications were made in 1893, when the remaining part of the frontier was defined. By the Perso-Soviet treaty of 1921 the 1881 frontier was reaffirmed, except for an adjustment in favour of Persia, but this territory does not appear to have been handed over, and demarcation has yet to be completed (paras. 25-44).

5. *Afghanistan.*—In the XIXth century Herat and Sistan were bones of contention between Persia and Afghanistan. Largely through the intervention and mediation of Great Britain, Persian claims to Herat were withdrawn. British mediation was likewise responsible for the settlement of the Sistan controversy; in 1903-05 the MacMahon Mission defined and demarcated the frontier in this region. In 1935 a Turkish arbitrator settled a further Perso-Afghan boundary dispute and demarcated the rest of the frontier between the two Powers (paras. 45-53).

6. *Baluchistan.*—Persian territorial pretensions led to continual encroachment in Baluchistan in the middle and latter half of the XIXth century. The frontier with British India was partly defined in 1871 and more fully in 1896, when some demarcation was also carried out (paras. 54-60).

7. *Persian Gulf.*—A conflict of views between Great Britain and Persia persists in regard to certain islands in the Persian Gulf, notably the Bahrein islands. Persia held the Bahrein islands in Sasanian times and again, but only intermittently, from 1602 to 1783; in the latter year she was finally dispossessed by Arabs. Persian and Turkish claims to Bahrein have been made on numerous occasions to Great Britain, but have always been rejected. The islands of Tamb, Abu Musa, Sirri and others are also in dispute; Great Britain has never recognised Persian claims to these islands, but has acquiesced in Persian control of Sirri since 1887 (paras. 61-78).

PERSIAN FRONTIERS

Introduction

1. Persia, which was a very expansive country from time to time in the past, has, during the last century and a half, been herself enclosed by other expansive Powers. Nevertheless, her existing frontiers now appear to be stabilised, except in some relatively unimportant respects. All these frontiers have now been defined, but some demarcation yet remains to be done on (a) the Perso-Soviet border east of the Caspian Sea, and (b) the Perso-Baluch border.

2. On the 8th July, 1937, Persia signed, at Sa'dabad, near Tehran, a non-military pact of *bon voisinage* with Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan. Each of these four states recognised the present and future inviolability of their common frontiers, thus bringing to an end a series of long-drawn-out conflicts and controversies. On the 25th August, 1941, British and Soviet troops entered Persia; opposition was slight and short-lived, and Riza Shah soon after abdicated in favour of his son Muhammad Riza. On the 29th January, 1942, Great Britain, Soviet Russia and Persia signed a treaty whereby the two former Powers recognised the integrity and independence of Persia, while the latter, for her part, agreed to the maintenance of British and Soviet troops on Persian soil for the purpose of safeguarding lines of communication. Great Britain and the Soviet Union both undertook to withdraw their forces from Persia not later than six months after the conclusion of hostilities. The United States was not a party to this treaty, but in the "Declaration of the Three Powers concerning Persia," which President Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill and Marshal Stalin issued at Tehran on the 1st December, 1943, it was stated that the Governments of the three Great Powers were "at one with the Government of Persia in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Persia." The participation of the United States in this Declaration thus constitutes a supplementary guarantee of the frontiers of Persia.

I.—Frontier with Turkey

3. In the course of the last four centuries the long frontier line between Persia and Turkey has undergone many changes. Before Mesopotamia was detached from Turkey in consequence of the defeat of the latter in the War of 1914–18, the Turco-Persian frontier was some 840 miles in length, and in earlier times it had been even longer. Territorial aggression by both Persia and Turkey and acute religious differences between the two nations led to many struggles. Conflicting claims to pasture lands by nomadic tribes on each side of the border also caused frequent clashes. In consequence, border provinces and towns often changed hands, but gains by one side or the other generally proved to be only of a temporary nature. In more recent times hostilities or disputes between

Turkey and Persia were usually settled, in so far as territorial questions were concerned, on the basis of the treaty of Zuhab (17th May, 1639) between Sultan Murad IV of Turkey and Shah Safi of Persia.

4. The treaty of Zuhab laid down in a very approximate manner the line to be followed by the frontier from the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab to the Caucasus range. After following the Shatt for some 50 miles, the boundary struck inland and ran northwards across the plain until it reached the edge of the Persian plateau; it then skirted that plateau, leaving Badra and Mandali in Turkey. After traversing Kurdistan, the border ran generally northwards along high watersheds through very mountainous country; in the far north the mountains of Suram (Likhi) formed the boundary between Turkey and Persia, thus leaving the Georgian states of Kakheti and Kartli to Persia and Imeriti and Samtskhe including Akhaltsikhe, which was specifically mentioned, to Turkey. It is to be emphasised that this frontier was never explicitly defined or delimited.

5. In the first half of the XVIIIth century the border underwent many changes. The invasion of Persia by the Ghalzai Afghans and their overthrow of the Safavi dynasty in 1722 created such chaos in the country that both Turkey and Russia seized the opportunity to annex large tracts of Persian territory. In the struggle for the spoils war very nearly broke out between the two Powers. Through French mediation, however, Turkey and Russia signed a treaty on the 23rd June, 1724, whereby the former obtained most of Luristan, Kurdistan and Azarbaijan, all Armenia and Georgia and the western portions of Shirvan and Daghistan. Russia's share will be described below (see para. 28). This arrangement was somewhat modified, in so far as Turkey was concerned, by the war which soon afterwards broke out between her and Ashraf, the Afghan ruler of Persia. Nevertheless, the treaty of Hamadan (1727) between the Turks and Afghans left the former in possession of most of what they had gained by their pact with Russia.

6. In 1730 Tahmasp Quli Khan (better known by his later title of Nadir Shah), the able and ambitious general of Shah Tahmasp II, attacked the Turks and forced them to relinquish Kermanshah, Hamadan and Tabriz. In 1731, when Nadir was absent in Khorasan, the Shah sought to

emulate his exploits and attacked the Turks. He suffered, however, a humiliating defeat, and lost most of the reconquered territory. In the course of subsequent campaigns, Nadir drove the Turks completely out of Persia and invaded Turkish soil. Both sides, however, became exhausted by the long struggle, and the treaty of Kurdan (4th September, 1746) reaffirmed the 1639 frontier.

7. The second half of the XVIIIth century saw no material changes in the frontier, but towards its close the influence of Russia became increasingly felt. Russia's occupation of Georgia in 1801 and her expansion to the west of that country considerably shortened Persia's frontier with Turkey. This frontier was again curtailed in 1828 when Persia, by the Treaty of Turkmanchai, had to cede Nakhichevan and Erivan to Russia; the northern end of the Turco-Persian frontier was then fixed on the Aras to the south-east of Ararat, where the Russo-Persian border began.

8. Turkey and Persia were at war again from 1821 to 1823. Hostilities ended with the signature of the first treaty of Erzurum (28th July, 1823), which implicitly recognised the 1639 boundary by confirming the frontier provisions of the treaty of Kurdan. As before, however, no attempt was made to define or demarcate the frontier. This lack of a specific boundary led before long to a serious recrudescence of frontier disputes and clashes, mainly in Kurdistan. In 1842, when Turkey and Persia seemed on the brink of war, Great Britain and Russia secured their consent to the setting up of a joint frontier commission. The result of the labours of this commission was the signature of the second treaty of Erzurum (20th May, 1847). This instrument reaffirmed the frontier as previously agreed, with the following exceptions:—

- (i) The Turkish Government expressly recognised that, as regards the Shatt al-Arab portion of the frontier, the town and anchorage of Mohammerah (now Khurramshahr), the island of Khizr (Abadan), and all lands on the eastern bank of the Shatt which belonged to Persian tribes were to be in Persia. Furthermore, Persian ships were to have freedom of navigation on the Shatt from its mouth to the point where the frontier struck inland from its eastern bank between Mohammerah and Basra.

- (ii) The province of Zuhab was to be partitioned, the flat western part being assigned to Turkey, while the mountainous eastern portion, together with the Karind valley, was given to Persia.

9. The treaty also provided for the delimitation of the frontier. Persian and Turkish commissioners, with British and Russian commissioners as mediators, met at Mohammerah in 1850 and at Zuhab in the two following years, but Turkish intransigence in every case rendered agreement impossible. In the absence of an authoritative definition of the frontier, both Turkey and Persia agreed to accept the *status quo*, unsatisfactory though that had proved to be. From that time on the British and Russian Commissioners strove for years to produce a map of the frontier, but it was not until 1869 that they completed the "Identical Map." This map, however, did not show the frontier line, but merely a zone 20 miles in width within which this line was to be traced. Another abortive attempt to delimit the frontier was made in 1874.

10. In 1878 Russia, in order to reward Persia for remaining neutral during the Russo-Turkish war, procured the insertion in the treaty of Berlin of articles which provided for the cession by Turkey to Persia of the town and district of Qotur (which are situated between lakes Van and Urmia); some years, however, elapsed before Turkey withdrew from that area. Disputes over Qotur arose in 1879–84, 1889–94 and 1905–12. These and other differences led to a fresh endeavour to obtain a properly delimited frontier.

11. In 1913–14 the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission, on which Great Britain and Russia were also represented, carried out a complete survey and delimitation of the frontier. The final protocol was signed on the 27th October, 1914, only two days before Turkey attacked Russia.

12. In so far as Persia's rights to the anchorage at Mohammerah were concerned, the terms of the settlement were more favourable to her than the somewhat vague provisions of the second treaty of Erzurum had been (see para. 8 above). Instead of merely specifying the anchorage at Mohammerah (which would have meant little or nothing more than the waters of the Karun river off that place), the "Declaration between the United Kingdom and Turkey respecting the Southern

Section of the Turco-Persian Frontier," which was signed at London on the 29th July, 1913, provided, *inter alia*, that "the modern port and anchorage of Mohammerah, both above and below the junction of the River Karun with the River Shatt-el-Arab, shall remain under Persian jurisdiction in pursuance of the Treaty of Erzeroum, but this shall not impair the right of Turkey to use that part of the river, nor shall Persian jurisdiction be extended to those parts of the river which remain outside the anchorage." The terms of the Procès-Verbaux relating to the third meeting of the Frontier Commissioners on the 29th January, 1914, were more explicit. It was laid down therein that the frontier line was to leave the left (Persian) bank of the Shatt at Tuwaijat, 1,417 metres (4,650 feet) downstream from the left bank of the Karun river where that stream enters the Shatt, and follow the *thalweg* (mid-channel line) upstream past Mohammerah to a point opposite the south-eastern end of the Nahr al-Khayyin, a total distance of 4½ miles. The frontier line there entered the Nahr al-Khayyin and followed its *thalweg* up to a point 400 feet west of the point where it is joined by the Nahr Abu'l-Arabid. From this last-mentioned point the frontier struck inland across the plains in a northerly direction until it reached the foothills of the Zagros range; it then followed the eastern limits of the Mesopotamian plain, running first north-west and then north.

13. Some 300 miles to the north-west of the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab, two territorial adjustments in favour of Turkey were made, where two areas, afterwards known as the Transferred Territories, were allocated to her. These areas, which cover 520 and 154 square miles, lie respectively to the north-east and south-east of Khanaqin. Their importance lies chiefly in the fact that they are oil-bearing (the Naft Khaneh field, which is being exploited by the Khanaqin Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, is situated in the southern area; at Chiah Surkh, in the northern area, oil has also been discovered, but has not yet been exploited). Furthermore, most of the Qotur district (see para. 10 above) became Turkish again.

14. After the signature of the Mudros Armistice on the 30th October, 1918, Turkey ceased to have any responsibility for Mesopotamia, which had the status of occupied enemy territory until the establishment of the Kingdom of Iraq. By this

territorial change, which was ultimately embodied and defined in the Anglo-Turco-Iraqi treaty signed at Ankara on the 5th June, 1926, Persia's frontier with Turkey was greatly shortened; it ran from a point 40 miles north-east of Ruwandiz (Rowanduz) along the 1914 line to the river Aras.

15. At the 1919 Peace Conference Persia laid claim to Turkish Kurdistan, Mosul and even Diyarbakir, but these extravagant pretensions were disallowed.

16. On the 23rd January, 1932, a small territorial adjustment was amicably arranged by the two Powers, whereby Turkey received Little Ararat and the Agri range in exchange for Qotur and part of Bajirga; this exchange has been described as being intended to facilitate control of the Kurdish frontier tribes.

17. The Sa'dabad Pact, which was signed on the 8th July, 1937, confirmed the then existing Turco-Persian frontier by stating (in Article 2) that the inviolability of Persian frontiers would be respected.

II.—Frontier with Iraq

18. When the new state of Iraq was formed, it acquired, by inheritance from Turkey, a frontier with Persia some 550 miles long, extending from the mouth of the Shatt al-Arab in the south to a point 40 miles north-east of Ruwandiz in the north. At this latter point the Turco-Iraqi frontier, as laid down in the treaty of the 5th June, 1926 (see para. 14 above), branches off to the west, and all that remains of the Turco-Persian frontier begins.

19. Relations between Persia and Iraq were very strained for a number of years, largely because of the not unnatural dissatisfaction of the former with the Shatt al-Arab portion of the frontier. It was most galling to the nascent, but none the less very strong, nationalist spirit which the late Riza Shah so assiduously fostered in his country that the waters of the Shatt should remain (except in the neighbourhood of Mohammerah) under alien control. Persians found it irksome that regulations for the navigation of the river were issued by the Basra Port Authority, and that vessels lying alongside the jetties of the great oil port of Abadan were in Iraqi and not Persian waters. Ships of the newly-formed Persian Navy were ordered to disregard the navigational regulations in the Shatt, with the result that on one occasion there was nearly a serious collision between one of these warships and a British vessel.

There was also some reason to believe that Persia harboured the design of regaining the Transferred Territories with their oil-fields (see para. 13 above)(¹).

20. Although Persia recognised Iraq officially in 1929, the dispute over the Shatt al-Arab frontier persisted, and it was not until the 4th July, 1937, that the two Powers signed a treaty in which it was agreed (in article 2) that the frontier should leave the most advanced point (*i.e.*, the north-west end) of the island of Shatait (which had been allocated to Persia by the Turco-Persian Frontier Commission in 1913-14) and follow the *thalweg* of the stream for four and a half miles to a point off No. 1 jetty at Abadan,⁽²⁾ whence it returned to the left bank of the river which it followed as before as far as Tuwaijat. In all respects the frontier remained as fixed in 1913-14. Article 3 of the treaty provided for the setting up of a joint Commission to demarcate the frontier as it had been defined in 1913 and also to fix such new frontier marks as it might consider necessary.

21. This treaty also provided for the conclusion of a conservancy agreement.

22. While it was satisfactory that Persia and Iraq had agreed to this extent, there was, unfortunately, no time limit specified within which the conservancy agreement was to be concluded.

23. From the British point of view this treaty was unsatisfactory for several reasons. In the first place, there was the omission of the time limit mentioned above. Secondly, there was no guarantee that the conservancy agreement, in the event of it ever reaching finality, would contain adequate provisions for the maintenance of navigability in the waters ceded by Iraq to Persia. Lastly, there remained the possibility that Persia might not adequately carry out conservancy work in her own waters; there would obviously be a likelihood of harm to British interests in the event of parts of the river channel on the Persian side of the frontier being allowed to silt up, thus causing the *thalweg* line to shift towards the Iraqi bank of the Shatt.

(¹) This belief was later fostered by German propaganda. From September 1939 onwards, it was from time to time alleged, in broadcasts in Persian, that these territories had been detached from Persia because they were oil-bearing.

(²) The latitude of this point is wrongly given in Foreign Office print E 4521/73/34 as 30° 28' 04" N. It should be 30° 20' 08.4" N. The mistake occurred originally in the text of the treaty published in the *Journal de Tehran* on 20th July, 1937.

24. Nine and a half years have now elapsed since the treaty was signed, and there is still no sign of the conclusion of the conservancy agreement, while Persian obstruction and procrastination have prevented the Delimitation Commission from completing their task.

III.—Frontier with the U.S.S.R.

25. Persia's frontier with Soviet Russia is divided into two portions by the Caspian Sea. As the western stretch of this frontier is the more ancient of the two, it will be dealt with first.

(i) West of the Caspian Sea

26. With two such vigorous personalities as the Tsar Boris Godunov and Shah Abbas the Great as their respective heads, it seemed that Russia and Persia would inevitably come to blows over Daghistan, Shirvan and Georgia in the opening years of the XVIIth century. Russia made an attack on the north of Daghistan, and in 1604 sent an envoy to Georgia to demand that country's submission, but the Tsar died in the following year, before anything tangible could result. After Boris's death, Russia entered upon her "Time of Troubles," and for over a century was unable to entertain thoughts of territorial expansion in the Caucasus regions. Shah Abbas, freed from the risk of collision with Russia, succeeded in re-establishing Persian supremacy in Georgia and Armenia, but after his death in 1628 a decline set in.

27. When the XVIIIth century dawned, the weakness of the Safavi state became very marked, and it was overthrown with surprising ease by the Ghalzai Afghans in 1722. Meanwhile, Peter the Great had been formulating his Caspian policy and his more ambitious design to open up an overland trade route to India. His ships roamed the waters of the Caspian, while his officers made charts of that sea and surveyed its shores.

28. Baulked of his hopes of finding a safe route to India via Khiva and Bukhara by the murder of his envoys *en route*, Peter turned his attention to the western side of the Caspian. When he learnt that the Turks were planning to take advantage of the weakness of Persia to break through to the Caspian, he resolved on immediate invasion. In 1722, using the murder of some Russian traders in Shirvan as a pretext, he descended upon and captured Darband, and in the following year his troops seized Baku and landed in Gilan.

When Tahmasp Shah heard of the Russian invasion, he sent an envoy to Peter to negotiate a treaty of alliance. On the 23rd September, 1723, a treaty was signed in Moscow whereby Russia, in return for assisting the then fugitive Tahmasp to recover his throne from the Afghans, was to receive Darband and Baku, with their adjoining districts, and the three coastal provinces of Gilan, Mazandaran and Astarabad.

29. The Russian capture of Baku and the subsequent news of the conclusion of this treaty all but caused war to break out between Russia and Turkey, but the good offices of the French Ambassador at Constantinople brought about the pact between the two countries to which reference has already been made (see para. 5 above). This treaty recognised Russia's right to all the areas covered by her agreement with Tahmasp.

30. However, Peter's death in 1725 and the disinclination of his immediate successors to interest themselves in his Caucasian and Persian aims, coupled with the sudden but ephemeral resuscitation of Persia under Nadir Shah, called a temporary halt to Russian expansion in these parts.

31. After the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, Irakli II of Georgia secured the independence of his country for a time, but the threat of Persian invasion in 1783 forced him to place Georgia under Russian protection. In 1795 Agha Muhammad Shah, the first of the Qajar line, succeeded in taking Tiflis, but his troops were soon driven out by the Georgians with Russian aid. The Russians, in a rapid campaign, occupied most of Georgia, northern Azarbaijan and part of Daghistan, but the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of Paul brought about an abrupt change of policy which resulted in the withdrawal of the Russians to the northern side of the Caucasus range. The Russian withdrawal was, however, merely temporary; when another Persian attack on Georgia appeared imminent, the Tsar's troops again crossed the mountains and soon penetrated as far as Tiflis, which they occupied. On the 20th January, 1801, the whole of Georgia was formally incorporated in the Russian Empire. In the fighting that afterwards ensued, Persia strove to regain what she had lost, but not only did she fail in that object, but she was also unable to stem further Russian advances, except at Erivan.

32. By the treaty of Gulistan, which was signed on 28th October, 1813, Persia ceded to Russia the khanates of Darband, Baku, Qubba, Shirvan, Shekki, Talish, Qarabagh and Ganja, and recognised Russia's rights in Georgia, Mingrelia, Gurriel, Abkhazia, Imeritia and Daghistan. The greater part of the frontier between Persia and Russia was formed by the river Aras, but a line was drawn northwards from that river near Ordubad along the crests of the mountains to the north of Lake Sevan and thence in a generally westerly direction to the Arpa-chai river near Gumri (later Aleksandropol and now Leninakan) so as to leave the khanates of Nakhichevan and Erivan in Persian possession. This frontier was so ill-defined in the treaty that disputes subsequently broke out and led, in 1824, to another war. Although Persia achieved some successes in the earlier phases of this struggle, she met with defeat in the end. The treaty of Turkmanchai, which was signed on 22nd February, 1828, confirmed all the territorial changes made in Russia's favour by the treaty of Gulistan, and provided for the cession by Persia of the khanates of Nakhichevan and Erivan, together with Echmiadzin (also known as Vagarshapat), the Metropolitan See of Armenia. Further, a semi-circular area on the right (south) bank of the Aras extending for $3\frac{1}{2}$ versts (2.3 miles) on either side of a point immediately opposite the fortress of Abbasandad was ceded to Russia.

33. The frontier laid down by the treaty of Turkmanchai started at Mount Ararat, whence it ran first south-east and then east to the Aras river. The bed of that river served as the frontier until it reached the small semi-circular portion of Russian territory on the right bank (see para. 32 above). After bounding that area on the south, the frontier reverted to the bed of the Aras which it followed up to a point immediately north-east of the small village of Tazakend. At this point the frontier left the Aras and ran south-eastwards for $31\frac{1}{2}$ miles across the Mughan steppe to the Bolgar Chai; it followed the bed of the Bolgar Chai upstream to its tributary or continuation, the Adinabazar Chai, and then the right bank of the latter stream as far as its source. Thenceforward, the boundary ran generally in a south-easterly direction along watersheds until it reached the northern source of the Astara river, the bed of which it then followed to its mouth.

34. By the convention of 8th June, 1893, between Russia and Persia, the above-mentioned area south of the Aras opposite Abbasabad was restored to the latter Power (for particulars of this convention see para. 41 below). In all other respects the frontier on the western side of the Caspian Sea remains to-day as it was fixed by the treaty of Turkmanchai.

(ii) *The Russo-Persian Frontier East of the Caspian Sea*

35. In former times, before Russia obtained a footing on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, there were no fixed boundaries between the great Persian province of Khorasan and the desolate Turkman country to the north. Shah Abbas the Great initiated the practice of settling and maintaining colonies of Kurdish and other warlike tribesmen in the mountainous country in the north of Khorasan in order to keep at bay the predatory Turkmans. Nadir Shah not only followed this policy actively, but also overran the whole Turkman country, up to and including Merv Khiva, besides subduing Bukhara and Samarkand. This extension of Persian authority to the north and north-east was purely ephemeral, and on Nadir's assassination the northern slopes of the mountain fringe formed by the Kopet Dag, Kuren Dag, Kuh-i-Hazar Masjid and other ranges to the south-east once again came to constitute the northern limits of Khorasan.

36. Russian interest in the south-east corner of the Caspian and in the regions beyond was first aroused in the time of Peter the Great, but it was not until over a century later that a real attempt was made to establish a foothold in those parts. As Persia was debarred by the treaties of Gulistan and Turkmanchai from maintaining warships flying her flag on the Caspian, she was unable to cope with the piratical Turkmans on the south-east coast of that sea. Their raids became so troublesome that in 1834 Persia asked Russia for aid against them. Russia used this request as a pretext for establishing a force on Ashurada Island, which she maintained there for many years, ostensibly for preventing Turkman raids, despite repeated protests by Persia (it was only in 1921 that Soviet Russia expressly renounced all claim to the island; see para. 42 below).

37. In 1869, when Russia seized Qizil-Su (which she renamed Krasnovodsk, the Russian equivalent of the Turki name) and Balkhan Bay, Persia protested, and enquired for what purpose a fort at Krasnovodsk was being constructed. She also asked for an assurance that Russia would not interfere with the Yomut Turkmans who inhabited the country round the mouths of the Atrak and Gurgan rivers. Russia, in reply, stated that she recognised Persian authority as far north as the mouth of the Atrak. The Persian Government acquiesced, as they were under the impression that the Russian claim to the territory north of the Atrak applied only to a coastal strip extending inland no more than 30 or 40 miles.

38. Russian expansion eastwards and south-eastwards from Krasnovodsk soon became very marked. In 1873 Russia took Qizil Arvat and conquered Khiva, and it was not long before she claimed from Persia the northern half of the whole basin of the Atrak. In the meanwhile she had erected a fort at Chikishliar, a place on the Caspian coast 9 miles north-west of the Gulf of Hasan-Quli. In 1880-81 the Russian forces under General Skobelev attacked and completely crushed the Akhal Tekké Turkmans, thus extending Russia's hold along the northern foothills of the Kopet Dag and of its extensions south-eastward to Ashkhabad (this name is a Turki corruption of 'Ishqabad) and beyond.

39. On 21st December, 1881, Russia and Persia concluded a frontier convention at Tehran. This convention defined the frontier from the mouth of the Atrak River (which then flowed into the sea on the southern side of the Gulf of Hasan-Quli) to the small town of Lutfabad, 60 miles east-north-east of Quchan. The Atrak itself served as the boundary as far as Chat, 75 miles east-north-east of the Gulf of Hasan-Quli (as will be seen in paragraph 40 below, the river has since changed its course, and now flows into the Caspian some distance to the north of its former mouth). From Chat the frontier ran first north-east and then east along the ridges of the Songu Dag and Sagirim for 55 miles; it then swung to the north, crossed the Chandir, a tributary of the Atrak, just to the west of the ruined fort of Yangi-Qal'eh, and bore east again until it reached the Kopet Dag. The boundary then followed the ridges of the Kopet Dag and other mountains in a predominantly

south-easterly direction as far as Lutfabad. This frontier line left the village and district of Firuzeh (which is on the road from Gök Tepe to Shirvan) in Persia. The convention provided for the demarcation of the frontier as far as Lutfabad.

40. The Russo-Persian delimitation commission began its labours in 1882 and ended its task three years later. It was subsequently discovered that the Persian commissioners had, either through ignorance or bribery, accepted as the extreme western portion of the frontier not the Atrak itself, but an artificial irrigation canal which was several miles to the south of that river. A further complication arose when the Atrak changed its course in its lower reaches, and took a more northerly route to the sea. The Russians had a two fold object in seeking to extend their frontier further to the south. In the first place, the irrigable land in the southerly part of the lower Atrak basin was of better quality than the land in the north; secondly, by establishing themselves further to the south, they were able to secure control over practically the whole of the Yamut Turkmans.

41. On 8th June, 1893, Russia and Persia signed another convention at Tehran whereby Persia ceded the village and district of Firuzeh (see para. 39 above) to Russia, and received in return (i) the small area on the right (south) bank of the Aras opposite Abbasabad (see paragraph 32 above) and (ii) the village and district of Hisar, which are situated a short distance to the south-east of Lutfabad. This convention defined the frontier south-eastwards from Lutfabad to the Zulfiqar Pass, where the Afghan, Persian and Russian frontiers meet, thus completing the definition of the whole frontier on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea. Provision was made in the same convention for the demarcation of the frontier south-eastwards from Lutfabad.

42. There was no further frontier modification by treaty until the Persian and Soviet Governments concluded their treaty of friendship on 26th February, 1921 (this treaty was signed at Tehran only five days after the *coup d'état* by Reza Khan and Sayyid Zia ad-Din). By article III of that treaty both Powers—

“... agree to accept and respect the Russo-Persian frontiers as drawn by the Frontier Commission (*sic*) in 1881. At

the same time, in view of the repugnance which the Russian Federal Government feels to enjoying the fruit of the policy of usurpation of the Tsarist Government, it renounces all claim to the Achouradeh (Ashurada) islands and to the other islands on the Astarabad Litoral, and restores to Persia the village of Firouzeh and the adjacent land ceded to Russia in virtue of the convention of 28th May (equivalent to 8th June, new style), 1893. The Persian Government agrees for its part that the Russian Sarakhs or ‘old’ Sarakhs and the land adjacent to the Sarakhs River, shall be retained by Russia.

“The two High Contracting Parties shall have equal rights of usage over the Atrak river and the other frontier rivers and waterways. In order finally to solve the question of the waterways and all disputes concerning any territories, a Commission composed of Russian and Persian representatives shall be appointed.”

43. In article XI of the same treaty, it was stated that, as the treaty of Turkmanchai was abrogated,^(*) Persia was no longer precluded by article VIII of that treaty from maintaining a fleet^(*) on the Caspian Sea, and that both Powers should, from the moment of the signature of the present treaty, “enjoy reciprocally the right of navigation on the Caspian Sea under their own flags.” It is noteworthy that, despite this display of magnanimity, the Soviet Government did not hand back, either at that time or subsequently, any of

(*) In article I of this treaty the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic declared “the whole body of treaties and conventions concluded with Persia by the Tsarist Government, which crushed the rights of the Persian people, to be null and void.”

(*) The word *fleet* is given here, as it is the equivalent of the word “Flot” which was used in the original Russian text of the treaty. The Persian Delegate to the League of Nations communicated to that body a French translation of the treaty in which “Flot” was erroneously rendered as *bateaux* (see League of Nations, Treaty Series, Volume IX, page 406). The English version of the treaty in the British State Papers was translated from this French text, and consequently gave *vessels* as the equivalent of *bateaux* (see Volume CXIV, page 904). The matter is rendered perfectly plain by a reference to article VIII of the treaty of Turkmanchai; the first paragraph of that article states that Persian merchant ships were to enjoy the same rights of navigation on the Caspian Sea as Russian merchant ships, while the second paragraph contained the prohibition in regard to the maintenance of Persian warships on that sea.

the territories which Russia had acquired from Persia by virtue of the treaties of Gulistan and Turkmanchai (see paras. 32 and 33 above).

44. It is curious that the 1921 treaty limited itself to recognition of the frontier only as laid down by the treaty of 1881; it made no reference whatever to the remaining portion of the frontier as defined by the convention of the 8th June, 1893. Developments subsequent to the conclusion of the 1921 treaty are, to some extent, wrapped in obscurity. While, on the one hand, the former bed of the lower Atrak seems to have been accepted by the Soviet Union as the extreme western portion of the frontier, such evidence as is available shows that, at any rate until 1939, the village of Firuzeh was regarded in the U.S.S.R. as being still on the Soviet side of the frontier.^(*) Attempts were made by a Perso-Soviet frontier commission in 1922 and subsequent years to delimit the western portion of the frontier, but, owing to the evasiveness of the Soviet officials, little or nothing could be accomplished. As the lack of a definite frontier line later gave rise to difficulties, it was agreed in March, 1936, that a Perso-Soviet commission should demarcate the boundary as defined by the 1881 treaty (once again, there was no reference to the frontier as defined by the convention of the 8th June, 1893). In July, 1926, it was reported that the Soviet Government were to return to Persia 185 square versts of territory in the neighbourhood of Pul-i-Khatun (this place is on the left bank of the Hari-Rud river just south of the point where it is joined by the Kashaf-Rud); this land had, it was said,^(*) been ceded by Nasir ad-Din Shah to Russia some time in the latter part of the previous century. Since all the land on the west side of the Hari-Rud and Tejend (as the Hari-Rud is known below its junction with the Kashaf-Rud) in this region was already in Persia, the area in question must have been on the east bank of that river to the south of “old” Sarakhs. As in the case of Firuzeh, there is no evidence to show that this territory has ever been returned to Persia. There is likewise nothing on

(*) See the article on Firuzeh in the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*, 1936. See also sheet 120 of the *Bolshoy Sovetskiy Atlas Mira* (1939), which shows Firuzeh as being well within the territory of the Turkmenistan SSR.

(*) See Meshed despatch No. T/24 dated 20th May, 1926 (E 4067/100/34).

record in regard to frontier demarcation since 1926.^(*)

IV.—Frontier with Afghanistan

45. The Perso-Afghan frontier is 509 miles in length. Although there have in the past been numerous disputes and even wars between Persia and Afghanistan over frontier questions, the whole of the boundary between the two states has been satisfactorily settled in the course of the last 70 years; the task of delimitation was completed only in 1935.

46. The main underlying cause of the frontier disputes between Persia and Afghanistan was, in the earlier days, Persia's claims to the provinces of Herat and Sistan. On historical grounds she certainly had some justification for her pretensions.

47. Shah Isma'il, the founder of the Safavi dynasty, conquered the province of Herat in 1510, and it remained in Persian hands for well over two centuries. In 1716 the Abdali Afghans, who at that time were settled in and around the city of Herat, rebelled and succeeded in throwing off the Persian yoke for some years. Nadir Shah, however, defeated them in 1729 and again in 1732; in the latter year he once again established Persian authority in the province. After Nadir's assassination in 1747, Ahmad Khan (afterwards Ahmad Shah Durrani), the able Abdali leader, who had been one of Nadir's protégés, seized Herat and made it part of his newly formed kingdom of Afghanistan. For many years thereafter Persia was too feeble to assert her claims, but she did not give up hope.

48. Fath 'Ali Shah (1797–1834), encouraged by the Russians to seek territorial compensation in the east for what he had had to cede to them in the north-west in 1813 and 1828, twice planned to seize Herat, but on each occasion his project

(*) It is known that the local Soviet authorities had for long looked with a jealous eye upon all land that could be irrigated in these regions, together with all sources of water. Sir R. Hodgson, in his despatch No. 229 to the Foreign Office, dated 19th March, 1926 (E2211/100/34), stated that: “The Russians from time immemorial had not only insisted that all the water of the frontier rivers should be devoted to irrigating the cotton fields of Turkestan, but had gone so far as to compel the Persians inhabiting the frontier regions to root up all their trees so that no part of the water should be absorbed in Persian territory. As a consequence, considerable districts formerly fertile had been reduced to an arid state.”

failed to materialise. His anti-British and pro-Russian successor Muhammad Shah (1834-48), who imagined himself to be a reincarnation of the great Nadir, sent an army to take Herat in November 1837, but had to abandon the enterprise after a ten months' siege, when the British Government, after making strong protests, followed these up with the occupation of Kharak island, in the Persian Gulf. In 1851 Nasir ad-Din Shah (1848-96), after receiving overtures from Sayyid Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Herat, sent a force ostensibly to reduce the Turkmans of the north-east frontier, but actually to occupy Herat. Strong remonstrances by the British Government led to the withdrawal of the Persians before they could achieve their object and to the Persian Government giving an undertaking, dated the 25th January, 1853, to abstain from taking possession of the province and from interference in its internal affairs.

49. Notwithstanding this undertaking, the Shah's forces attacked the city and took it in 1856. This aggressive act brought about the brief Anglo-Persian war of 1857, in the course of which Great Britain again occupied Kharak island and, having landed troops on the mainland, also occupied Bushire and defeated the Persians at Mohammerah. By the treaty of Paris, the Shah agreed to withdraw from Afghan territory, but he nevertheless managed to retain control over Herat through a puppet ruler. This state of affairs was terminated in 1863 when the forceful Dost Muhammad, the founder of the Barakzai dynasty, captured the city a few days before his death. Although Herat was thenceforth uninterruptedly in Afghan possession, the frontier between that province and Khorasan remained undefined. In consequence, disputes and affrays were numerous, and became so serious that both Persia and Afghanistan asked for British arbitration. The outcome was that, in 1888, Major-General Maclean surveyed and defined the frontier from the Hashtadan plain, some 60 miles to the west of the city of Herat, to the Zulfikar pass, where the Afghan Persian and Soviet Persian frontiers meet. Major-General Maclean demarcated this stretch of frontier, which measures 103 miles, in 1891.

50. Sistan, like Herat, had for long been regarded as part of Persia, since it too had been conquered by Shah Isma'il. In 1722, when the Ghalzai leader Mahmud overthrew the Safavi dynasty by his capture of

Isfahan, Malik Mahmud Kayani (or Sistani, as he was sometimes styled), the ruler of Sistan, set himself up as an independent monarch and held sway over the whole of Sistan and part of Khorasan. Nadir Shah defeated Malik Mahmud in 1727 and afterwards put him to death; Sistan was then once more incorporated in Persia. After Nadir's death, Sistan, like Herat, came under the control of Ahmad Shah, and it remained in Afghan hands for nearly a century.

51. When Afghan authority declined owing to dissensions in the ruling Barakzai clan, Sistan entered upon a troubled period, when rival chiefs strove for mastery over the province. In 1853 Ali Khan Sarandi, who had been for some years ruler of Sistan, declared his allegiance to Persia. His nephew Taj Muhammad overthrew him in 1858, and declared himself independent; however, in 1862, he likewise declared himself a subject of the Shah. Three years later Persia sent an army to occupy the province, an act which nearly led to war between her and Afghanistan. Both Powers, however, agreed to accept British mediation, with the result that the Goldsmid Mission, in 1870-72, surveyed the areas under dispute, divided the territory between the two countries and defined the frontier between them. By this award, Persia retained the more fertile portion of the province, but had to give up the territory which she had occupied on the right bank of the Helmand river. In 1896 a change in the course of that river led to fresh boundary disputes and Great Britain was once more called upon to adjudicate. In consequence, the MacMahon Mission, in 1903-05, defined and demarcated a fresh boundary which both Persia and Afghanistan accepted after some demur.

52. The portion of the frontier thus settled began at the Kuh-i-Malik-i-Siyah whence it ran north-eastwards for 80 miles to the Helmand; it then turned northwards, leaving Zabul (Nasratabad) in Persia, and Chakansur in Afghanistan. Thirty miles north-north-east of Zabul, the frontier swung round almost due west and ran for 66 miles to a point just to the east of the peak known as the Siyah Kuh, making a total of 172 miles.

53. The position then was that, although a strip of 103 miles of frontier in the north and another of 172 in the south had been fixed, a gap of 234 miles between them remained unsettled. In 1930 and onwards a number of disputes and minor clashes occurred over Musa-abad, a hamlet in the

Hashtadan district close to the northern end of this stretch of unsettled frontier. Persia and Afghanistan again decided upon arbitration, and this time they invited Turkey to act. The Turkish arbitrator was General Fahrettin (Fakhr ad-Din) Altay. After examining the claims of the contending parties and making a survey of the areas involved, General Fahrettin defined and demarcated the whole of the 234 miles of frontier between the Maclean and MacMahon sections. He completed his task in 1935. By his award, Persia received the hamlet and spring of Musa-abad, while Afghanistan obtained the nearby winter pastures (qishlaq), where certain nomadic Afghan tribes were wont to spend the cold weather. Lake Namak-sar, where the salt deposits are of some value, was bisected by a line running from north to south. Both Persia and Afghanistan accepted the general's finding, and the demarcation of the entire frontier between the two countries was thus completed.

V.—Frontier with Baluchistan

54. The frontier between Persian Baluchistan and the British-protected state of Kalat is some 500 miles in length, of which only the portion from the great swamp known as the Hamun-i-Mashkel to a point near Kuhak has been demarcated.

55. Between 1730 and 1738 Nadir Shah conquered and annexed to Persia the territories of a number of Baluch chiefs and welded them into a coherent whole under the governorship of Muhabbat Khan Brahoi. In 1739 Nadir added the province of Kacchi to Muhabbat Khan's territory. After Nadir's assassination in 1747, Ahmad Shah obtained control over Baluchistan, dismissed Muhabbat Khan and appointed his younger brother, Nasir Khan, as Governor.

56. Nasir Khan proved a most capable administrator and soon became so strong that he rendered no more than nominal allegiance to his suzerain. On Ahmad Shah's death in 1773, Nasir Khan became independent and ruled Baluchistan until his death in 1795. The country then became a battle-ground for rival chieftains, and remained in a state of chronic disorder for many years.

57. It was not until the beginning of the reign of Nasir ad-Din Shah (1848-96) that Persia sought to recover her former position in Baluchistan. In 1848 the chief of Bampur made an incursion into the pro-

vince of Kirman. In retaliation, Persian forces invaded Bampur and forced the chief to submit; they thereupon withdrew. In 1849 the chief of Bampur rebelled, and was again subdued by the Persians, who seized and annexed the town of Bampur, a place of some strategic importance.

58. Nasir ad-Din Shah appointed an able man named Ibrahim Khan as Governor of Bam and Bampur. Ibrahim Khan, after firmly establishing Persian authority in the Bampur region, extended it steadily southwards to Geh and south-eastwards to Qasrkand and Sarbaz. As all this territory belonged to the British-protected state of Kalat, serious friction developed between Great Britain and Persia. When the former Power wished to extend the telegraph line westwards from Gwadar to Jask, the dispute became more acute. In 1870, however, it was agreed to settle the questions at issue by fixing the frontier by means of an Anglo-Persian boundary commission. In 1871 Sir F. Goldsmid, the British Commissioner, his Persian colleague and their respective staffs began their work. Persian obstinacy led to much delay, and it was possible only to define, but not demarcate, the frontier line from Gwadar bay, on the Indian Ocean, as far as Jalq. It proved impossible to reach agreement over the town of Kuhak, on the Mashkel river, so the question of this place was left to be settled later. Immediately after the departure of the British Commissioner and his staff in 1872, Ibrahim Khan seized Kuhak, together with Isfandak and some other places in the Mashkel valley. In the same year the Persians ousted the Arabs of Muscat from the small port of Chahbar, where they had been established for over three-quarters of a century.

59. Persia's high-handed action over Kuhak, further encroachments by her in the Mashkel region and serious disputes between Persian tribesmen and the Nushirvanis of Kharan led to renewed friction with Great Britain, and it became evident that a fresh settlement of the frontier question was necessary. In 1895-96 an Anglo-Persian boundary commission was appointed to define and demarcate the whole of the frontier from the coast to the Kuh-i-Malik-i-Siyah where the frontiers of Persia, Afghanistan and British-protected territory meet. Colonel Sir T. Holdich was the British Commissioner. As in the case of the previous commission, tension arose between the British and Persian Commissioners, and it proved

impossible to reach agreement on a number of points. Although the whole frontier was defined, demarcation was carried out only from the Mashkel river 6½ miles east by south of Kuhak to the southern edge of the Hamun-i-Mashkel and thence in a west-south-westerly direction for 11 miles to the right bank of the Talab river, a total distance of 126½ miles. It had been intended to continue the demarcation up to the meeting point with the Afghan frontier at Kuh-i-Malik-i-Siyah, but the Persian Government failed to send a surveyor to work with the British surveyor, with the result that the boundary was not marked out on the ground, but was merely described^(*) and marked on the existing maps; these maps were afterwards found to be inaccurate. Some friction subsequently occurred between Great Britain and Persia over this undemarcated frontier, particularly in connection with Mirjawa, where the Persian Government erected a customs house in 1902. Great Britain claimed that Mirjawa was on the British side of the line. In an exchange of notes later in 1902, both Powers agreed to appoint a joint commission to complete the demarcation, but, by a further agreement, dated the 13th May, 1905, Great Britain withdrew her claim to Mirjawa, and both she and Persia agreed to abandon any further examination of the frontier by a special commission, it being stated that: "This frontier shall be regarded as definitely settled in accordance with the agreement of 1896, and no further claim shall be made in respect of it."^(*)

60. The present position is that two portions of the border remain undemarcated; these portions are, first, the stretch from Gwatar bay on the coast to the Mashkel river, and, secondly, the stretch from the south-west of the Hamun-i-Mashkel to the

^(*) In the *Agreement relating to the demarcation of the boundary between Persian Baluchistan and Kalat*, which was signed at Jalq on 24th March, 1896, it was stated that—

"From pillar 11 northwards the Talab river becomes the boundary to its junction with the Mirjawa river. From the point of junction it is carried by a straight line to the nearest point on the watershed of the Mirjawa range, which limits the drainage into the Mirjawa river on the north. Thence it follows the main watershed northwards to the highest point of the Kacha Koh. From the highest point of the Kacha Koh the line is carried straight to the highest point of the Malik Siah Koh."

The full text of this agreement is given in Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and neighbouring Countries*, Vol. XI, p. 37.

^(*) See Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI, pp. 381-82.

Kuh-i-Malik-i-Siyah. So long as any part of the frontier remains in this unsettled state, not only are tribal quarrels likely to occur, but more serious complications might ensue, if, after the war, attempts are made to obtain oil or other mineral concessions in those regions.

VI.—Frontier in the Persian Gulf

61. Although Persia's claims to sovereignty on the littoral of her side of the Persian Gulf and its approaches have seldom been seriously challenged or overridden during the last four centuries, the case is very different in regard to certain of the islands in the Gulf, notably the Bahrein group.

62. Portugal was the first European Power to establish a permanent foothold in the Gulf. In 1507 her forces under Albuquerque seized the island of Hormuz, which occupies a strategic position on the northern side of the entrance to the Gulf. Although a mutiny caused the Portuguese to withdraw in the following year, they returned in force in 1515 and forced the Shaikh of Hormuz to become a vassal of Portugal. They likewise established themselves on the adjoining island of Qishm, on the Bahrein islands and, later, on the mainland to the north of Hormuz.

63. Portuguese naval supremacy in the Gulf was soon challenged by the Turks. In 1553 the Portuguese defeated the Turks in a naval battle off Muscat, and in 1559 they drove them out of Bahrein, which they had invaded.

64. The first two Safavi monarchs, Shah Isma'il (1502-24) and Shah Tahmasp I (1524-76), were too much preoccupied with their wars with the Turks to be able seriously to dispute the intrusion of the Portuguese into their southern dominions. However, when Shah Abbas I (1587-1628) came to the throne, matters began to take a different course. In 1602 the Persians, under the Khan of Shiraz, wrested the Bahrein islands from the Portuguese, and in 1615 they recovered the strip of mainland to the north of Hormuz. Seven years later, a combined English and Persian force drove the Portuguese from their principal stronghold of Hormuz, as well as from Qishm island. Thenceforward the Portuguese made no attempt to secure dominion over any Persian territory. In fact, their power and influence in the Gulf were already on the wane, partly because

of the growing strength of the English and Dutch East India companies.

65. Early in the XVIIIth century the growing maritime power of the Arabs of Muscat began to make itself felt in the Gulf. By this time Persia, under the effete Shah Sultan Husain, had practically no authority in that area; moreover, she had no navy. The only vessels which she might have been able to use against the Omani Arabs, had she been stronger, were those owned and manned by the Huwala Arabs and others from northern Oman^(*) who had settled on her side of the Gulf. These Arabs, however, were virtually, if not entirely, independent; even if the Persians had been in a position to demand their aid, they would, moreover, have been most reluctant to take action against their fellow countrymen from the other side of the Gulf.

66. In 1717 the Imam Sultan ibn Saif II of Muscat seized the islands of Qishm and Larak, and in the following year his forces made a successful descent upon Bahrein. Two years later, the Persians, using shipping lent by the Portuguese, recovered Bahrein.

67. So seriously did the Persian Government regard the menace of Muscat that they carried on protracted negotiations with the French Government and the representatives in Persia of the French *Compagnie des Indes* with a view to obtaining French naval aid against the Arabs. They were prepared, in the event of success, to share the booty with the French and to hand Muscat itself over to them; it appears that they were even disposed for a time to allow the French to establish themselves in Bahrein. They also made similar overtures to the Portuguese (who defeated the Muscat Arabs in a sea fight off Kung in 1719), but French intrigues rendered these negotiations abortive.

68. However, the proposed Franco-Persian alliance itself came to nothing, because of the Afghan conquest of Persia in 1722. In the state of chaos that ensued in the Gulf the Huwala Arabs of Tahiri (a port on the Persian coast 27 miles north-west of Naband) were able to wrest Bahrein from Persia. In 1736, however, Nadir Shah, who had set himself the task of

^(*) These Arabs of northern Oman have often been incorrectly called the Qawasim or Jawasim (in old records the name is distorted to Joasmee); strictly speaking, the term Qawasim should be applied only to the family to which the Shaikh of Sharja belongs.

making the waters of the Persian Gulf a Persian preserve, sent an expedition against the Huwalas on Bahrein; some of the ships used had been purchased from the English East India Company, while others had been lent by it for the operation. This expedition was completely successful. Nadir followed up this operation with a combined sea and land attack on the Muscat Arabs. In 1737 the Persian forces landed at Khor Fakkan and at Julfar (now known as Ras al-Khaima), ostensibly to assist the Imam to quell a revolt which had broken out amongst his subjects, but in reality to conquer his country. The Persians, after a number of setbacks, took both Muscat and Sohar, but Nadir's military commitments elsewhere prevented him from sending enough reinforcements for the invaders to be able to retain their hold over the country. Gradually the able Ahmad ibn Sa'id (who had seized the Imamate) forced the Persians back, and finally drove them out of Oman altogether; the only tangible and lasting result of this expedition was the replacement of the decadent Ya'riba dynasty by the virile one of the Al-Bu-Sa'ids.

69. During the period of extreme confusion that followed the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, the Huwala or other Arabs once more secured control over the Bahrein islands, but in 1753 the Shaikh of Bushire re-established Persian authority there. Thirty years later, however, Arabs of the Anaiza tribe, who had been settled on the Arabian coast in the neighbourhood of Koweit since 1716, seized the islands. Except for the years 1801 to 1810, when the islands were held first by the Muscat Arabs and then by the Wahhabis of the Arabian mainland, the Al Khalifa family of the Anaiza tribe has ever since maintained its hold over Bahrein, despite repeated Persian protests and numerous attempts by Turkey to secure possession.

70. Great Britain's special connection with Bahrein dates from 1820, when she first entered into treaty relations with the ruling Shaikh. In 1861 Great Britain and Bahrein signed the "Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship" whereby Bahrein was recognised as an independent Arab state under the protection of His Majesty's Government. In her capacity as the protecting Power, Great Britain has consistently rejected all Persian and Turkish claims to sovereignty over the islands, and has sought, but so far without success, to induce the Persian Government

to recognise the independence of the Shaikh⁽¹⁾ (as regards the British rejection and the final lapsing of the Turkish claims to the islands, see para. 76 below).

71. It is to be noted that the discovery of oil and the establishment of an important air station on Bahrein island have increased the commercial and strategic importance of the group; this fact will doubtless be borne in mind by Persia should she, at some future date, again decide to assert her claim either on what she (but no one else) considers to be the merits of the case or as a bargaining factor in some other negotiations.

72. In the second half of the XVIIIth century the Arabs of the Pirate (later called the Trucial) coast of Arabia occupied the islands of Tanb (also called Tunb, Tamb and Tomb), its dependency Nabiya Tanb, Abu Musa and Sirri; it seems probable that they did so in the very confused period subsequent to the death of Nadir Shah. These Arabs also settled on the Persian littoral, in the same way as the Huwala Arabs had done; it is not recorded when these Arabs actually reached the mainland, but it seems logical to assume that they did so after they or some of their fellows had established themselves on the islands.

73. Much further to the east, Arab infiltration into the mainland occurred in 1792, when Nasir Khan Brahvi, the ruler of Kalat, presented the Imam of Muscat with the small port of Chahbar, in the region which afterwards became known as Persian Makran. Chahbar remained in Arab hands until 1872 (see para. 58 above).

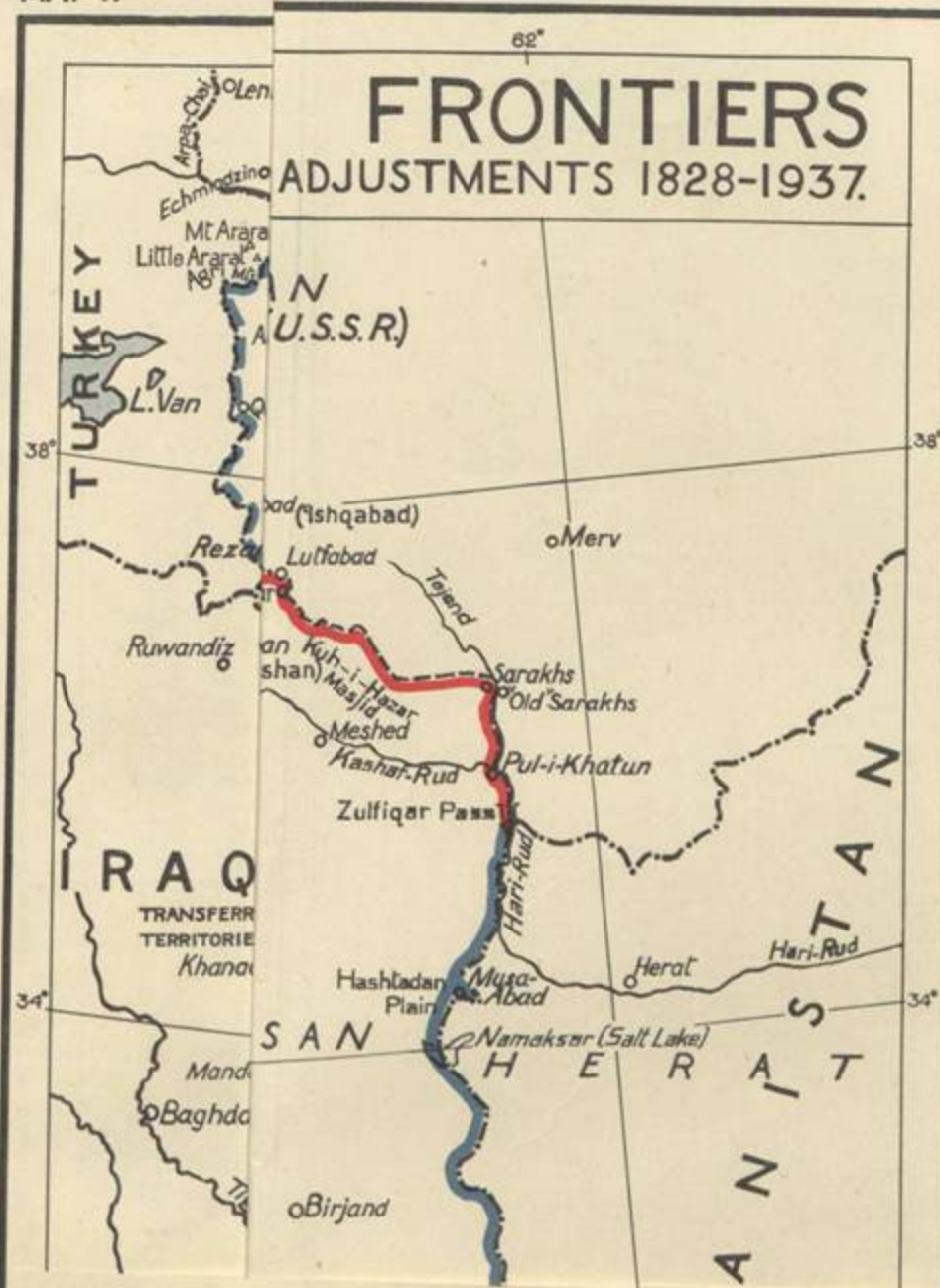
74. At the beginning of the XIXth century the Persian Government leased Bandar Abbas and its dependencies (which included the islands of Qishm and Hormuz) to the Imam of Muscat. The Persian Government expelled the Arabs from these territories in 1856, but granted them a new lease three years later; this lease was terminated in 1868.

⁽¹⁾ It is difficult to see on what grounds Persia could successfully maintain any claim to sovereignty or suzerainty over Bahrein. Although the islands formed part of the province of Pars (Fars) in Sasanian times, Persia lost her sovereign rights over them when the Muslim Arabs overthrew the Sasanian monarchy in the VIIth century A.D. It was not until after the break-up of Timur-i-Lang's heterogeneous empire some seven centuries later that Persia regained any semblance of authority over Bahrein. During the succeeding three and a half centuries, her rule over the islands was not, as has been seen, continuous, and she did not, in fact, exercise anything like effective control for more than 167 years in all.

75. It was not until 1887 that the Persian Government seriously took up the question of the ownership of the small islands of Tanb, Nabiya Tanb, Abu Musa and Sirri. In that year they despatched a small force which seized Sirri island; ever since then Sirri has remained in Persian hands. From that time onwards they have repeatedly laid claims to the other islands. Great Britain, while tacitly admitting the Persian claim to Sirri, has always maintained that the Trucial Shaikhs have sovereign rights over the other islands. The Persian contention is that the Arabs of Lingeh had acquired their position on the islands when they were domiciled in Persia and that they were therefore Persian subjects at that time. As stated above, it seems more probable, however, that the Arabs had already acquired their authority on the islands before the time when they or their companions settled on the Persian coast. The view has been put forward that the fact that a section of these Arabs later acquired Persian nationality and held their authority on the Persian coast as chiefs or governors under the Persian crown cannot affect any original rights which the Trucial Arabs on the Arabian coast and those on the Persian littoral may have held in common. The position is complicated by the fact that the Persian Government have refused to recognise the Shaikhs of Trucial Oman as independent rulers. The Persian Government have also refused to recognise the independence of the Shaikh of Kuwait; their attitude towards Bahrein has already been described. With the discovery of large oil-fields in these countries on the Arabian shores of the Persian Gulf, there is always the possibility of international complications arising, and it is by no means improbable that the Persian Government will again lay claim to sovereign rights over these Arab countries.

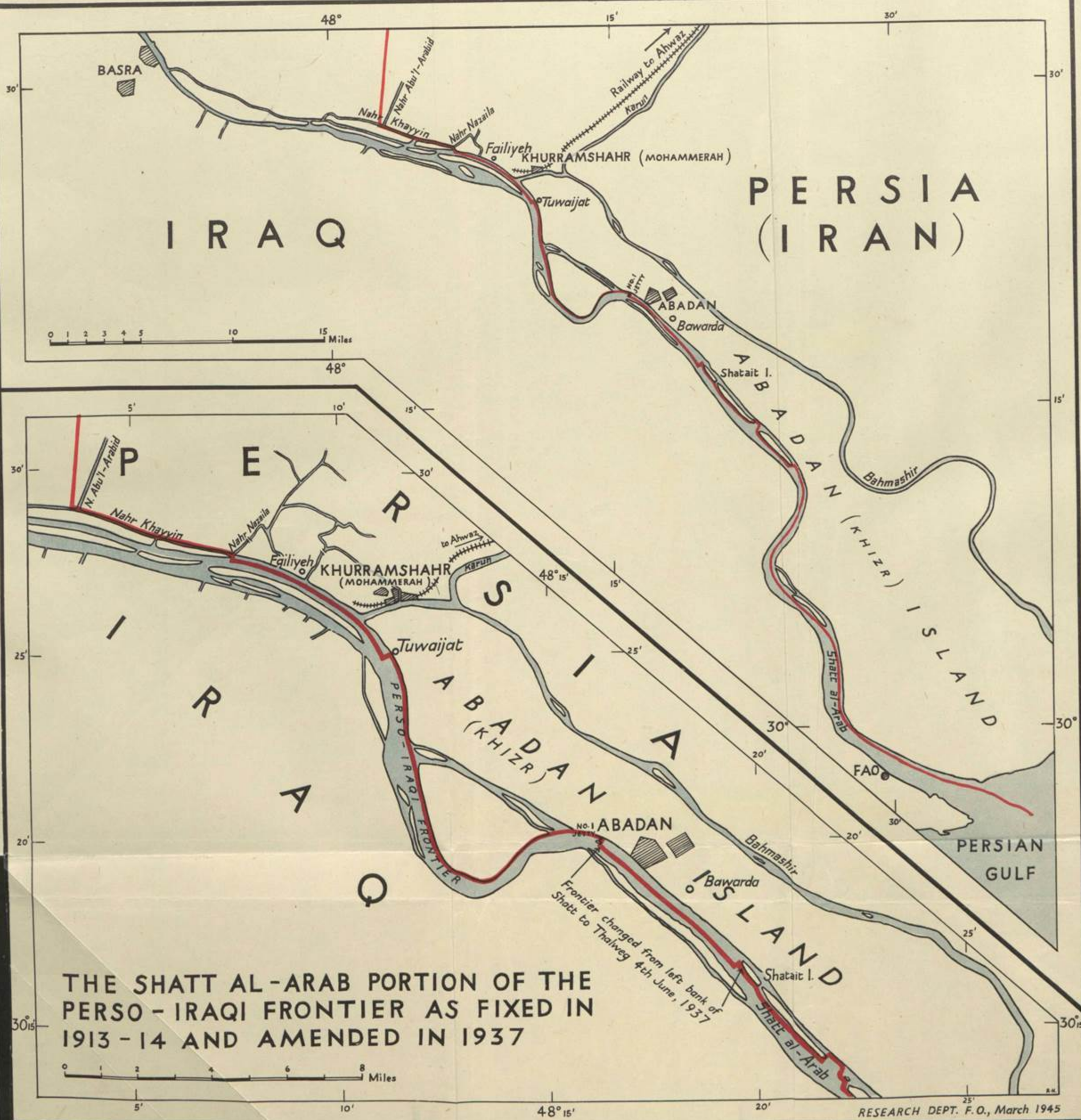
76. In conclusion, some explanation must be given of the special position of Great Britain in the Persian Gulf. As has been seen, the English East India Company established itself in the Gulf early in the XVIIth century, but its interests and activities were purely commercial. It was only towards the end of the XVIIIth century, when the contending Dutch and French interests had been eliminated and the responsibility for policing the Gulf and rendering it safe for trade had devolved upon Great Britain, that her position

MAP 1.



MAP 1.





began to assume a political, as well as a commercial, character. Since that time, besides undertaking the suppression of slavery and the prevention of illicit arms traffic in the Gulf, she has been instrumental in quelling the pirates of Ras al-Khaima and other places on the coast of northern Oman and has entered into agreements with their rulers binding them and their subjects to abstain from piracy. It has already been seen how Great Britain has championed their cause when Persia has attempted to establish her authority over their territories. In regard to Bahrein, besides refuting numerous Persian claims to sovereignty (see paras. 70 and 71 above), Great Britain rejected similar pretensions by Turkey on no less than nineteen occasions between 1839 and 1905.⁽¹²⁾ In 1892, on one of the occasions when a Turkish descent upon Bahrein seemed imminent, Great Britain entered into the exclusive series of separate agreements

⁽¹²⁾ By article XIII of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 29th July, 1913, the Ottoman Government renounced all claim to the Bahrein islands and recognised their independence. Although the outbreak of war between Great Britain and Turkey prevented the ratification of this Convention, the defeat of Turkey and her resulting withdrawal from the Persian Gulf rendered any subsequent ratification of this Convention superfluous.

*Research Department,
Foreign Office,
31st January, 1947.*

with the rulers of Bahrein and the Trucial Coast whereby the establishment of direct relations between them and any other Power was rendered impossible.

77. Lord Curzon, when Viceroy of India, stated in a despatch in 1899 that the Government of India could not allow "any European Power, and more especially Russia, to overrun Central and Southern Persia, and so to reach the Gulf or to acquire naval facilities in the latter even without such territorial connections." In 1903 Lord Lansdowne declared in the House of Lords that the British Government would "regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal."

78. Although Great Britain has, mainly for strategic reasons, so consistently regarded the Persian Gulf as a British preserve, she has never sought to secure for herself sovereign rights over any portion of Persian territory in that region.⁽¹³⁾

⁽¹³⁾ No mention has been made here of the former British naval stations at Basidu and Henjam, because there was never any question of Great Britain disputing the sovereign rights of Persia over the areas concerned.

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No. 7

**GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN, 1st JULY-
31st DECEMBER, 1946**

Consul-General Carse to Mr. Bevin. (Received 4th February)

(No. 6) *Tabriz,*
Sir, *8th January, 1947*

I have the honour to transmit herewith a brief analysis of the general political position in Azerbaijan during the six months ended 31st December, 1946.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran.

I have, &c.

W. MITCHELL CARSE.

Enclosure in No. 7

*General Political Situation in Azerbaijan
1st July to 31st December, 1946*

None knew better than the Azerbaijan Democrat Party leaders themselves that the

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popular enthusiasm with which they had been welcomed in December 1945 was, by the beginning of the second half of 1946, decidedly on the wane. When the Democrats assumed office the people appeared to be only too glad of the opportunity afforded them to cast off the yoke of unfulfilled promises, inefficiency, oppression, bribery, and economic and social neglect which they had so long borne under Central Government control. The Democrats offered good prospects of a square deal economically and socially—of the natural wealth of Azerbaijan being used principally for the benefit of Azerbaijan; of freedom, security, educational facilities, and a better standard of living for the masses who, in numberless

c* 2

cases, could hardly get enough clothes to cover their bodies against the cruel winds of the Azerbaijan winter.

2. Why did Pishevari and his associates feel that the foundations of their political structure were weakening? Had they failed to give the people what they had promised? Or did the Democrat Party in some other major regard fall short of the expectations of those who had applauded it so heartily? Let us glance briefly at the achievements of the party. In a very short time they had lowered the cost of living; tribute was no longer paid to Tehran merely for the privilege of being Persian, and the local resources were in large part put to work for the general benefit of Azerbaijan—special attention was being given to the welfare of the factory workers and peasantry; trades unions were being organised, schools, libraries, and recreation facilities became available to people who never before dreamed that they would have access to such as these; a small proportion of the peasantry had benefited by the redistribution of land; others were to receive grants of seeds, and co-operative farming to enable poor farmers to obtain the use of modern implements was being advanced as rapidly as funds permitted. Last but not least, there was complete security all over Azerbaijan, a state of affairs hitherto unknown. Surely a noteworthy performance and one for which the party leaders might well have expected credit, especially in a province in which for so many years little constructive work had been done by the State.

3. The party had, however, built up a debit balance, due to several causes. The landowners and wealthy commercial entities had had to pay the penalty of belonging to the "reactionary" class and had been mulcted heavily and frequently. Their resentment was keen, and their opposition dangerous. In the towns, the religious elements, which comprised the vast majority of the inhabitants, were shocked and dismayed at the constant anti-religious propaganda of the Democrat Party. With this was coupled the blatant lack of patriotism of Pishevari and his associates and their complete subservience to Russia: the people realised bitterly that these men were prepared to sell their country to Moscow—and to sell it cheaply at that—for, in spite of past discouragement, oppression and disillusionment, the Azerbaijani remained a fervent patriot, first Azerbaijani and secondly Persian (the truth of this

was strongly brought out in December and the officer commanding the Persian troops informed me that the patriotism of the people of Tabriz had enormously facilitated the entry of his soldiers).

In the country districts these considerations applied to a lesser extent. The peasant, as a rule uneducated and stupid, had only elementary ideas of religion and was without any clear conception as to what patriotism meant. He could, however, appreciate the loss of his son's labour in the fields during the spring when the latter was forcibly removed by the Democrats to fight their battles against the Zulfigari, Chandowly, Arasbaran, Shahim Dezh, and other anti-Democrat elements: this loss was frequently so serious to a family that they were reduced to starvation level. The peasants could not understand. The Democrats had promised so much—they had given proof that they wanted to help the poor farmers; yet they took away their most valuable labour at a crucial time and kept them, grossly underpaid, often only for guard duties for weeks and months. Resentment and suspicion as to the Democrats' ultimate intentions were born amongst the people who had been their most solid supporters.

4. Thus the Democrats cut deeper into the lives of the Azerbaijanis than the Persians had ever done—not only did they assail the wealthy in the towns, not only did they strike at the heart of the peasants in the fields, they attacked and ridiculed two fundamental concepts of life which were dearer to the average Azerbaijani than any political dogma: their religion and their patriotism; slowly dislike of the party waxed into deep hatred of all that it stood for.

5. Pishevari had been well schooled by his Russian mentors and the means to smother any "old-fashioned" ideas amongst the people were at hand. These means were (a) a political framework to regulate the life of the whole country and (b) a political police on the Soviet model to deal promptly and efficiently with dissentients.

The political framework took the form of a Central Committee under the chairmanship of Pishevari, nine town committees in the more populous centres, 200 sub-committees for the larger villages, and numerous minor and local committees (HOMS and HOVZA) to cover the smaller villages and hamlets.

The political police, composed almost entirely of Muhajjirs (Azerbaijanis who had lived in Russia and of whose political outlook there was no doubt), worked in close co-operation with the political committees.

By means of these two organisations the Central Committee were able to ascertain exactly popular feeling all over the province and to administer timely correctives either by "educational" lectures or by more forceful methods if these seemed desirable.

Pishevari set this machinery in motion to crush the nascent opposition that was coming into evidence and a black cloud of fear descended on Azerbaijan: fear of the Democrats, and fear of the Soviet shadow which was all too near. Spies abounded. People were torn from their beds, never to return. Friend learned to distrust friend. Even the mullas were afraid to speak out against the party in case their valuable properties might be taken from them. The party, satisfied with the results, laughed contentedly, and turned their eyes to bigger prey—Tehran and beyond. They could now boast to the rest of Persia, without any likelihood of contradiction within Azerbaijan, that they had brought liberty and progress to the north of the country and that, as the bearers of the torch of freedom, they desired to disseminate its radiance to the other provinces which were still shrouded in the gloom of "reaction."

6. Towards the Central Government the Democrats adopted an attitude of violence and intransigence. Their trump card was, of course, the threat of Soviet intervention should Azerbaijan not be accorded all of its "legitimate demands." This trump was not for production until all other methods of intimidation had failed, namely, endless propaganda as to the strength of the party, intimate contact with Leftists all over the country so as to bring as much pressure as possible to bear on the Central Government, bluff as to their military capacity and finally the menace of Azerbaijan cutting itself adrift from Persia.

The Democrats were highly pleased with their position in relation to the Central Government in July. The agreement of 13th June with Tehran was merely a means to an end, and they had no thought of honouring it beyond their own or Russian convenience. Consequently the Central Government did not regain any control whatsoever over the Province. The important questions of the army, the

gendarmerie, and the powers of the Provincial Government had been left unsettled. The Democrats determined to ensure that these would be solved according to their own liking without regard to any ideas on the subject which the Prime Minister might have. As to the forthcoming elections, the party did not hesitate to declare that, should the "Liberal" parties be unsuccessful, these would, under the leadership of the Azerbaijan Democrats, resort to force to attain their ends.

7. Clearly the policy of bluff and intimidation was bearing good fruit; the leaders of the party had been able to enrich themselves in record time—and there was always the comforting thought that, should things go wrong, the Russians would pull their chestnuts out of the fire. It was in this mood that the Tabriz delegates left for Tehran in August, at the invitation of the Central Government, to discuss the questions outstanding. They would present their demands—they would inform the Prime Minister that they had the whole might of the Azerbaijan people behind them and that they were strong enough to take by force what the Prime Minister would not give them as their "due."

Their fall was all the greater when they returned to Tabriz on 18th October without glittering prizes with which to dazzle the populace. Their shaky structure had received its first shock from outside and a faint glimmer of hope arose amongst the Azerbaijanis that this might be the beginning of the end. Within the province, too, the Democrats' position was deteriorating. Their tills were empty, trade was stagnant, and people with money either hid it or removed to Tehran for safety. Their grain collection scheme was meeting with popular resistance (the ire of the peasants had been roused; the Democrats had promised that they should be allowed to retain all their crops in 1946 with the exception of 10 per cent. to be handed over to the landlord, but at harvest time the party had notified the peasants that they must sell 20 per cent. of their own share to the Government, for which they were never paid, and a later Government order obliged them to hand over their entire share, retaining only 1 ton), and certain Kurdish tribes in Western Azerbaijan, anxious to secure control of the entire district, were becoming a decided nuisance. There were even signs of dissension within the ranks of the party leaders, some being impatient at Pishevari's failure to bring Tehran to book.

8. The Prime Minister's offer at the end of October of a new agreement on a "take it or leave it" basis was the testimony to an unexpected firmness and courage on the part of Tehran, and, as if this were not enough, the Prime Minister had calmly announced his intention of sending troops into Azerbaijan "to supervise the elections." The Democrats' fury and dismay knew no bounds. Their political foundations began to rumble ominously—and the Azerbaijan people heard the sound.

9. Pishevari took rapid stock of the situation. It was evident to him that the time had passed when blustering speeches and sabre-rattling would meet the needs of the case. He now needed all the means at his disposal—and more—to deal with Tehran. It was idle to take at its face value the Prime Minister's declaration that his soldiers would come to Azerbaijan merely to act as observers of the election proceedings. If the troops entered the province all would be lost; the Democrat Party would collapse—by the will of the people whose name Pishevari had so often taken in vain. So he brought all his guns to bear on the situation. By persuasion, and money, the Kurds were soothed into inaction, and Qazi Mohammed and Zero Beg (the Kurdish Democrat and Communist leaders respectively) might be relied upon to pull their weight in opposing the Central Government army. From all districts of Azerbaijan he rounded up every man and every penny he could lay his unlawful hands on; Tabriz radio sputtered venom against the "reactionaries" of Tehran; Leftist elements all over Persia were called upon to rise and support Azerbaijan in its struggle to retain its "liberty"; and anxious, pleading eyes were turned towards the Soviet.

10. It was evident that neither side could afford to give way unless a "face-saving" formula were found. The Democrats sought one by announcing on 11th November their acceptance of the Prime Minister's agreement. They felt that this might stay the flow of unpleasant events until they had a better grip of the situation. Surely the Russians must see how hard pressed they were and would take appropriate steps.

But the month of November wore on without any respite, and with the beginning of December the political and military positions had deteriorated alarmingly. The Democrats realised with despair that their hold on the populace was vanishing rapidly: their virtual prohibition of

religious processions during the Muharram was ignored even by the youth of the town who wore the Democrat badges: Pishevari redoubled his terror methods: his spies were everywhere: wholesale arrests were made: and the people waited, tense and unsmiling, but hopeful. Pishevari knew, too, that he had only half-hearted Fidaïs and unwilling conscripts to oppose the Persian army. The Azerbaijan troops asked themselves why they should fight to save Pishevari's skin; and, even if he were worth fighting for, what chance had they with their poor equipment against Persian aeroplanes and mechanised units!

11. It was, too, with bitterness that the party came to the conclusion that Russian help was to be confined to diplomatic warnings and arms and ammunition, when what was needed was a force of several thousand good soldiers, well equipped and able and willing to fight. Public meetings were addressed by the party leaders in a final endeavour to arouse the public "to a realisation of their danger." But to no avail. The public had other ideas.

12. In desperation the Democrats handed out rifles and ammunition to anyone who would take them "for the defence of their freedom." These were seized on with alacrity by the populace, with the object of settling old scores against party members as soon as conditions permitted. It was commonly said that it was only a question of weeks, or even days, before the party leaders would be in full flight.

13. The news of the entry of Central Government forces into Azerbaijan reached Tabriz on 9th December, and by the morning of 11th December all the Democrat leaders had disappeared with the exception of Shabistar (president of the Provincial Council) and Biriya (chairman of the Trades Union Council) together with the Governor-General. On the same day Shabistar telegraphed to the Shah and to the Prime Minister that there would be no more opposition to the Persian forces. This announcement was received with joy in Azerbaijan. For the first time for many months the people felt free to express themselves as they wished; they could talk to their friends in the street without the inevitable spy sidling up to "listen in"; they could go home at night, secure in the knowledge that they or their relatives were not liable to be dragged out of bed in the middle of the night by a merciless political police. Azerbaijan smiled again—it was the first time I had seen it smiling. The

black cloud of terror had melted away. Only one anxiety remained. Would the Russians take advantage of the disorder following upon the Democrats' collapse to send troops to Azerbaijan to "protect their interests"? But the Russians made no move, and on the arrival of the Persian troops in Tabriz later on 13th December, and with them responsible authority, the populace vented its relief in wild acclamations.

14. With the Democrats out of the way, the Azerbaijanis began to consider their position. They had suffered much and had proved their loyalty beyond question. What would Tehran do for them? An intelligent far-sighted policy was required; an early return to stable conditions in which men and women could pursue their

normal avocations in peace and security; an economic planning that would give all classes a fair share of the fruits of their labours; and a scheme of social organisation that would give them a chance to better themselves morally, mentally, and physically, pointing the way to good citizenship. The people were tired of promises. It was to be hoped that Tehran realised the nature of the task which confronted it, and would have sufficient energy to carry it out.

15. These are the thoughts and wishes of the people. The Democrats showed what improvements could be effected even in a short time. It is incumbent upon the Central Government to act, and to act quickly. Azerbaijan loyalty is deep, but it must not be taken for granted.

E 1032/96/34

No. 8

SIX-MONTHLY POLITICAL SITUATION REPORT ON KHORASAN, JULY-DECEMBER 1946

Meshed, 1st January, 1947

General

During the period under review Khorasan remained one of the quietest provinces in Iran in spite of the upheavals in various other parts of the country. The past six months have also seen a complete reversal of the political outlook in the province. Six months ago Iranian morale was at its lowest ebb, but since the successful conclusion of the military operations in Azerbaijan and the consequent reunion of that province with Iran it is higher than it has been for many years and a new spirit of nationalism appears to have been born. It is felt that in Qavam-us-Sultaneh, the Prime Minister, Iran has a real national leader and during the last few months he has certainly created a feeling of confidence and optimism about the future. With the eclipse of the Hizb-i-Tudeh, the satisfactory settlement of the Azerbaijan question and the failure of the Russians to interfere successfully on behalf of their late followers and supporters Russian prestige has become decidedly low. There is certainly a wave of anti-Russian feeling in Khorasan and many Iranians say that their country has escaped great calamity.

Political Parties

2. Up to the end of September the Tudeh Party continued its campaign of anti-

British propaganda with an ever-increased tempo. New offices of the Tudeh Youth League were opened almost opposite this consulate-general, and every Friday large crowds gathered outside and were harangued by Tudeh speakers. Most of the speeches were directed against the British and, to a lesser degree, the Americans. The Tudeh Minister for Education in Tehran appointed one of the local party leaders, Shahab Firdaus, as Director of Education for Khorasan. A systematic purge of local officials in the Education Department then began. All those who were not prepared to join the Tudeh were either dismissed or transferred. The reign of Shahab Firdaus in the local Education Department was, however, short-lived as he was immediately dismissed when the Prime Minister formed his new Cabinet in November without Tudeh members. Since that date and with the formation of the Democrat Party the Tudeh Party's popularity has gradually diminished and the occupation of Azerbaijan by Iranian Government forces was the final blow. On 22nd December, just before a parade of the local garrison to celebrate the "victory," members of the Democrat Party wrecked the offices of the Tudeh in Meshed. They broke up or took away all the furniture, smashed all the windows and destroyed everything they could lay their hands on. Although the

streets outside were crowded with troops and police no one attempted to stop the Democrats and no members of the Tudeh Party offered resistance. Since then anti-Tudeh activities have increased but it is rumoured that some members are still holding meetings in secret. There are indications that the local authorities are looking for an excuse to suppress the local Tudeh newspaper *Rasti*.

3. The Democrat Party, which was formed at Meshed in August, has been successful in spite of the fact that there has been dissension within its ranks. One, Rahimiyan, was originally sent from Tehran to open the local branch. This was a bad choice as Rahimiyan is well known throughout Khorasan as a tool of the Russians and was, indeed, elected to the last Majlis with their support. People were not anxious to join a party inaugurated by him. Pressure was brought to bear on the party headquarters in Tehran, and Agha Haerizadeh took over the organisation from Rahimiyan, who was sent to Kuchan to organise branches of the Democrat Party there. The efforts of Haerizadeh soon proved successful. Large sums in contributions for the party were received and many members were enrolled. The hundredth day of the party's inauguration was celebrated with huge meetings to which the members were brought in decorated buses which had previously passed in procession through the city. The Democrats are now active over the elections and appear confident that they will succeed and that there will not be a Tudeh member elected to the Majlis from Khorasan. One criticism that the ordinary man in the street has of the Democrat Party is that some of its leading members are rich landowners and merchants, some of whom are known to have made fortunes during the war by corrupt methods. Another objection is that some of the Democrat candidates for election were elected to the last Majlis with the support of the Russians and the Tudeh Party. Two candidates are particularly criticised in this respect—Manuchehr Taimurtas and Rahimiyan.

4. The success of the Democrat Party has naturally helped in the fall of the Tudeh Party, whose prestige is now very low and many members have resigned. It seems to be a case of rats escaping from the sinking ship.

Soviet Affairs

5. A Soviet hospital was opened in Meshed in June and a branch of V.O.K.S., the Soviet Cultural Relations Society, has

also been opened in a large building in one of the main streets. It is understood that the hospital is not so popular as the Russians hoped it would be, mainly because of the high fees charged.

6. The Soviet Consul-General is said to have approached the Governor-General for assistance in extending their publicity work in Meshed. He first of all asked for arrangements to be made for the municipal hall standing in the public garden to be given to them on rent. The Governor-General politely refused this by saying that the building is public property and therefore could not be let. The Soviet Consul-General then asked for permission and assistance from the Governor-General to give theatrical shows in the Shir-O-Khorshid Club, the proceeds of which were to be given to the Russians for use in their publicity work. M. Ashrafi countered this request for the time being by saying that such shows would be unsuitable and unpopular during the month of Moharram.

7. The Irano-Soviet Cultural Society continues to hold meetings and concerts. A new branch has been opened at Sabzwar. The Russians have also been intensifying their efforts to popularise their language classes. Some time ago the number of pupils was increased by coercion through the Tudeh.

Economic

8. Severe famine conditions in the Kainat caused some 10,000 to 12,000 persons to migrate to Khorasan with their sheep, cattle and other animals. The Russians were not slow to take advantage of this and large numbers of sheep, cattle, &c., were bought by them and exported to Russia. It is feared that, as a result, breeding stock and plough animals will be short. Wheat has now been sent from Khorasan to the famine districts in the Kainat and practically all the people have been persuaded to return to their homes.

9. A disastrous fire took place at the Abkuh sugar factory just outside Meshed on the night of 3rd September. The cause of the fire is still not known, although suspicion is strongly directed against the Hizb-i-Tudeh, whose members amongst the employees at the sugar factory are said to have threatened trouble. Military and police were rushed to the scene but the fire was beyond control by the time they arrived and the factory and machinery were badly damaged. The damage was estimated at 2 million tomans.

10. Five Czechoslovak technicians of Messrs. Skoda were brought over to Meshed from Tehran and 500 workmen were employed day and night in an endeavour to put the factory into working order so that this year's sugar-beet crop could be utilised. Machinery was brought from other sugar factories in Iran to replace that damaged by the fire and some spare parts were brought from Sweden by air. The factory was in working order on 8th December, when it commenced manufacturing sugar. It was officially opened in the presence of some 200 officials, local and foreign representatives. Getting the sugar factory in working order in so short a time was a very fine piece of work. The minimum estimate of the sugar-beet crop this year is 70,000 tons valued at 27 million rials, which is expected to yield about 8,000 tons of sugar.

Air Services

11. The Iranian Airways Service, which commenced operations between Tehran-Meshed during May, has extended its service to Zahidan. The Russians continue to operate air service between Tehran and Meshed with American Douglas Dakota military planes, which they received from the United States under the Lend-Lease Agreement. They are attempting to make it impossible for Iranian Airways to function as a commercial concern by price cuts. The fare between Tehran and Meshed is now only 1,400 rials. Of the two services the Russian is the most popular merely

because it runs more regularly to schedule than Iranian Airways.

Local Affairs

12. Agha Nasir Itimadi (Nasir-ud-Dowleh), Governor-General of Khorasan, was recalled to Tehran on 1st August. His removal came as a great surprise, and the first he heard of it was an announcement made by Tehran radio. He has been replaced by Agha Ghulam Hussain Ashrafi, who arrived from Tehran on 7th August. The new Governor-General appears anxious to be friendly and helpful. He has for years been Deputy Prime Minister (a kind of permanent under-secretary) and this is his first executive appointment.

Consular Boycott

13. The orders broadcast on 3rd August from the Prime Minister forbidding Iranians to visit foreign embassies, legations and consulates were taken very seriously by local Iranians and for three months this consulate-general was virtually boycotted. Advantage was taken of a visit from His Majesty's Ambassador early in November to hold an evening party to which some sixty Iranians were invited, including the Governor-General. They all accepted and since then a less rigid interpretation of the Prime Minister's orders is being taken by the Iranians, who now visit the consulate fairly freely again.

I have, &c.

D. R. SMITH.

E 1334/40/34

No. 9

LABOUR DEVELOPMENTS IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th February)

(No. 43)
Sir,

Tehran,
4th February, 1947

I have the honour to transmit to you a paper prepared by the Labour Attaché covering developments in the labour sphere in Persia.

2. It is proposed to issue papers of this nature at quarterly intervals to consolidate and amplify the separate despatches or telegrams on labour questions that may have been sent to you during the quarter.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch and its enclosure to H.M. Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad, to the

British Middle East Office, and to the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 9

PERSIA: LABOUR NOTES—JANUARY 1947

Legislation

1. Article 46 of the Labour Law prescribes that all regulations necessary under the law shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers before 18th May, 1947.

and the law itself requires twenty-one different regulations on all aspects of labour and social welfare. Goaded by article 46 the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda hurriedly prepared and obtained the approval of the Council of Ministers to the following regulations:—

- (a) High Labour Council—constitution and functions (article 34 of the Labour Law). Approved on 7th August, 1946.
- (b) Factory Councils (article 27 of the Labour Law) approved on 28th August, 1946.
- (c) Minimum Wage Regulations (articles 24-26 of the Labour Law) approved on 24th October, 1946.
- (d) Arbitration procedure and Boards for Settlement of Disputes (articles 29-31 of the Labour Law) approved on 23rd November, 1946.

The experience gained in the drafting of these regulations and in their subsequent administration proved to the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda that legislation under the Labour Law must be a long-term process based on studies and analyses and cannot be confined within a time limit. The previous urge to fill the statute book with hastily prepared legislation has since December been succeeded by healthy caution; the Ministry now appears to be striving for quality of legislation rather than quantity.

2. During December 1946 and January 1947 the following draft regulations were considered by the Ministry:—

- (a) *Individual and Collective Contracts of Service*.—Preliminary discussion of these draft regulations revealed divergence of opinion on main principles, and the Ministry has suspended further action until an alternative draft has been prepared.
- (b) *Regulations regarding Health and Aid Funds* (article 37 of Labour Law).—These were prepared within the Ministry and submitted to the Under-Secretary who wisely decided that they were premature and that it was necessary to obtain more detailed statistics and the advice of a specialist on insurance questions. He therefore suspended any further consideration of the draft and arranged for a team of inspectors to visit selected factories to make a complete analysis of the incidence

and duration of sickness, accidents and unemployment. It is anticipated that sufficient information will be available by the end of February to enable an insurance scheme to be prepared on a reasonably firm actuarial basis.

- (c) *Trade Union Regulations* (article 21 of the Labour Law).—Although in October 1946, the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda professed readiness to issue regulations giving legal status to trade unions and prescribing a simple procedure for their formation, there has been little positive action. The study of draft regulations was delayed on various pretexts, the real reason no doubt being political expediency—the desire to procrastinate until the Tudeh monopoly influence on the workers had been finally broken. The Prime Minister has now issued personal instructions that there shall be no further delay in the issue of trade union regulations and a special committee has been appointed by the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda to prepare a draft for early submission to the High Labour Council.
- (d) *Health and Protection of Workers*.—Draft regulations are being methodically prepared by a committee of workers, employers and Government officials. There is little or no existing legislation on this subject and the committee's field must therefore embrace all aspects of health, welfare and protection. Progress is slow but the regulations that are eventually presented to the Council of Ministers will be sound and adequate.
- (e) *Workmen's Compensation*.—Decrees of 21st November, 1943, and 12th November, 1944, established a limited scheme of workmen's compensation. Regulations to extend the scheme to the whole of Persian industry, to simplify contribution rates, and to increase benefits are being prepared in committee and are practically complete.
- (f) In addition to the preparation of the foregoing regulations the Ministry is drafting a revised Labour Law. Experience has proved that the existing law contains anomalies and is inadequate in many respects. A special committee has therefore been

appointed by the Ministry to study and revise the law and, during January, good progress has been made in redrafting. The committee proposes to extend the scope of the law to include manual and clerical workers in all occupations except domestic service, the distributive trades and agriculture. The Ministry of War has refused to accept the application of the law to civilian workers in War Department factories and has threatened to conscript workers into the armed forces and compel them to wear uniform if this is the only means of avoiding compliance with the law. The committee is still seeking a compromise solution.

3. To assist the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda in the study of labour questions and to draft legislation for submission to the High Labour Council, employers' and workers' representatives have been appointed to special committees which meet regularly at the Ministry's headquarters. Committees for Settlement of Disputes; Protection of Industries; Protection of Labour; Social Insurance; Health and Aid Funds; Programmes and Planning; and Employment, are now functioning with enthusiasm although material results have as yet been small. Study of labour problems is handicapped by the complete absence of national statistics or data, and by the inexperience and insecurity in appointment of ministerial personnel—both senior and junior officers are in continual circulation from one post to another and have no opportunity of acquiring specialised knowledge or of contributing materially to the study of any particular subject.

Administration

4. The administrative machinery of the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda has recently been reviewed on the instructions of Minister Aramesh, and the Labour departments are in process of reorganisation and expansion. There is now a clearer definition of function and responsibility from the Under-Secretary, Naficy (who previously was reluctant to delegate authority) through four directors-general to the separate departments and branches. There is still, however, a marked reluctance of new and inexperienced officials to concentrate on the more elementary and basic problems of labour administration. They prefer to spend time and effort developing

on paper, highly imaginative schemes and individual theories, many of which are more properly within the field of another Government department, e.g., welfare and training of women prisoners, price control of the products of home industries. Naficy, who is working under pressure in a sea of detail, finds it difficult to give firm directives and exercise close control over the activities of his staff.

5. Employment bureaux are functioning at Tehran, Isfahan, Meshed, Ahwaz, Kerman, Yazd and Sari, and a bureau should now have opened in Tabriz. Plans are well advanced for establishing a further eighteen offices. In order to staff the bureaux candidates of specified educational standard are admitted to a three months' training course at the Ministry's headquarters. If successful in the final examination they are assigned to the provinces with the rank of inspector, to establish employment bureaux and to give effect to the provisions of the labour law. The employment bureaux are at present placing agencies only, registration procedure is rudimentary and few employers notify vacancies to the bureaux.

Industrial Relations

6. In the sphere of labour relations there is an apparently sincere effort on the part of the Government (stimulated by the Prime Minister himself) to improve employer-worker relationship. The Factory Council Regulations approved by the Council of Ministers on 28th August, 1946, for long remained a dead letter. To make the regulations effective by encouraging the formation of councils throughout Persian industry would have given new life and power to the Tudeh Trade Union movement which politically was being rapidly discredited. The successful conclusion of the Azerbaijan campaign of December 1946 further swung popular opinion against Tudeh organisations, and the time seemed opportune for the Government to foster the development of factory councils and negotiating machinery. A senior official of the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda was assigned to the industrial centre of Isfahan to inaugurate councils in private industries and, early in January, the formation of councils in the Tehran State tobacco factory, the sugar factory and the Tehran power station was announced. By the end of January it was claimed that fifty-six councils were operating in Tehran. Concurrently, the Governor-General of Khuzistan undertook to give full assistance to the

local Ministry of Labour representatives in their efforts speedily to establish factory councils in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company areas. The Minister of Labour and Propaganda himself proposes to visit Khuzistan in February to observe progress and to encourage the activities of the councils.

7. Political fears and influences still impede the full development of trade unionism in Persia. The Tudeh trade union with its central committee, provincial offices and factory branches throughout industry was a highly organised movement with a large nominal membership. (In Isfahan alone a membership of 45,000 was claimed.) The Government's action to discredit the political basis of the Tudeh movement, the accumulation of evidence of alleged malpractices of the leaders, and the arrest and imprisonment of those responsible for disorders and violence, left the workers disillusioned and suspicious. They still show little spontaneous enthusiasm and they are reluctant to take initiative in developing alternative types of association.

The first reaction of the Government was in favour of the development of a Democratic Party trade union in opposition to the Tudeh union and, during December, Ministry of Labour officials actually organised such unions in Tehran and Isfahan. This policy has now been somewhat modified and Minister of Labour and Propaganda, Aramesh, recently made a firm and apparently sincere public declaration that associations of workers would be fostered and encouraged without regard to political membership. The trade union regulations now being finally drafted should grant, in law at least, complete freedom of association without prejudice or favour. In anticipation of early issue of the regulations the Minister of Labour and Propaganda is sounding selected ex-Tudeh union spokesmen (Jowdat of Tehran, Fidaker of Isfahan) who have forcefully expressed disillusionment and disappointment in their former leaders with a view to encouraging them to organise more democratic associations.

8. The Tudeh Central Committee of Trade Unions is not yielding ground without resistance. In December it despatched a telegram complaining of victimisation and oppression to the World Federation of Trade Unions, and asked that a delegation from the federation should visit Persia. The Prime Minister strongly objected to the Central Com-

mittee's action and was at first determined to refuse permission for a delegation to enter the country. He recently decided, however, that whilst he will not officially invite a W.F.T.U. delegation, he will not place any obstacle in the way of a visit. At the same time and as a counter move he has officially invited the I.L.O. to send observers to Persia to investigate the allegations. The Central Committee's most recent attempt to save face was by a declaration in the press on 8th January that the committee is not attached to any party or political group and that its sole aims are protection of the rights of the worker and restoration of constitutional principles. In spite of this claim it has also been announced that the Tudeh Party Executive Committee will operate a purge of the Central Committee's leaders.

9. Boards for Settlement of Disputes have been established under the regulations approved on 23rd November, 1946, in the larger employment areas. The boards have an increasing volume of work consisting almost entirely of complaints under chapter 7 of the Labour Law against alleged wrongful dismissal. They have, as yet, little experience of major negotiations, trade disputes or strikes. During December the four boards functioning in Tehran dealt with 160 cases affecting 1,537 workers. The policy of the boards in their early days was to give a strong bias in favour of the worker and less consideration was given to the merit of a complaint than to the political desire to attract workers to statutory machinery and procedure in preference to putting complaint and grievance into the hands of Tudeh unions. It was, in fact, stated by high officials of the Ministry of Labour that until workers had formed the habit of making use of statutory machinery the boards would avoid giving decisions with which workers might be dissatisfied.

Wages

10. Although minimum wage regulations were approved on 24th October, 1946, it was not until 20th January, 1947, that a monetary minimum wage of 34 rials per day was announced for Tehran. The "basket" of items and quantities as laid down in the Minimum Wage Regulations has been priced at this figure for Tehran much to the dissatisfaction of workers' representatives who had expected pricing to be not less than 50 rials. Employers' representatives on the High Labour Council

were themselves convinced that a fair price for the "basket" would be approximately 40 rials per day and they would, no doubt, have accepted this as a minimum wage. Government representatives are, however, reluctant to lay themselves open to a charge of contributing to internal inflation, and they feel that although the bare minimum wage may be inadequate they have at least taken the first step in statutory wage regulation and they can progress from this point. The "basket" for Khuzistan has been priced by Ministry of Labour inspectors at approximately 40 rials, and the Khuzistan Board for Settlement of Disputes will meet during the first week in February to study the inspectors' recommendations and to prescribe the monetary wage. The Minister of Labour and Propaganda proposes making a public announcement of the new rate when he visits Khuzistan towards the end of February. Although inspectors have been working in other provinces for many weeks pricing local "baskets" the only result has been a figure of 54 rials for Yezd, and the inspector's recommendation has been summarily rejected by his headquarters; he has been reprimanded for arriving at a figure in excess of the Tehran rate.

General

11. During January the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda has endeavoured to widen international contacts and especially to strengthen links with the International Labour Organisation. Jamalzadeh, a Persian permanent official at the International Labour Office, has been officially invited to

return to Persia for a short time to study recent developments in the Labour sphere and to impart his own knowledge and advice concerning international practices. As already reported, an invitation has also been sent to the International Labour Office requesting the early despatch of a delegation to investigate complaints made by the Tudeh Central Committee of Trade Unions alleging oppression of workers by the Government.

Persia will be represented at the I.L.O. Petroleum Committee meeting in Los Angeles in February by Messrs. Nayer Nouri and Pirnia, who are senior officials of the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Finance respectively. The uncertain trade union situation made it difficult to select *bona fide* and suitable workers' representatives to attend the committee, and this made it inappropriate to invite employers' representatives to attend. It was therefore decided that Persia should be represented by Government observers only. It was at one stage hoped that the Minister of Labour and Propaganda would attend at Los Angeles but the Prime Minister was unable to agree that Aramesh should be absent from Persia during the election period. After the Los Angeles Conference Nayer Nouri will remain in Washington as Attaché of the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda. It is the first appointment of this nature to be made by the Persian Government and, if successful, further appointments will follow.

K. J. HIRD,
Labour Attaché.

31st January, 1947.

E 1346/40/34

No. 10

ANNUAL POLITICAL REPORT ON PERSIA, 1946

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 13th February)

(No. 48)

Sir, Tehran, 5th February, 1947

With reference to your Circular despatch No. 012 of 4th February, 1946, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my report on political developments in Persia during 1946.

A copy of this despatch is being sent to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow, Washington and Bagdad, the Government of India, the British Middle East Office,

36817

the Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, and to all consuls in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 10

Political Report on Persia, 1946

During 1946 the energy and ingenuity of the Persian Government have been

mainly directed to foiling the Soviet plan to turn this country into a Russian protectorate. In the closing weeks of the year their efforts were crowned with sudden success and for the time being Soviet influence in Persia is at a lower ebb than it has been since 1941.

2. Long before the end of 1945 the obvious reluctance of the Soviet Government to commit themselves to any programme of military evacuation had created grave suspicion about their ultimate intentions. The conference of Foreign Ministers at Moscow in December failed to provide a solution, and in January Hussein Ala, the Persian delegate at U.N.O., was then instructed by his Government to appeal to the Security Council. A few days later the Prime Minister, Hakimi, appalled at his own temerity, resigned and was succeeded by Qavam-es-Saltaneh, who was supported by a majority of only one vote in the Majlis. Qavam was the nominee of the Soviet Embassy and of the Tudeh Party, which had already fallen under Communist control. It was his policy to reach a direct understanding with Russia, and he promptly opened negotiations with Moscow to that end. He did not cancel his predecessor's instructions to Ala, but the Security Council decided to defer consideration of the Persian appeal until the outcome of Qavam's approach to the Soviets could be seen.

3. On 18th February Qavam visited Moscow but achieved nothing, and on 2nd March, by the date on which they had undertaken to withdraw the last of their troops from Persian soil, the Soviet Government announced their decision to postpone evacuation.

4. A few days later, amid violent demonstrations of hostility from gangs of hooligans organised by the Tudeh Party, the statutory life of the Fourteenth Majlis expired. The Prime Minister thus escaped the necessity to make any public statement about his negotiations with the Soviet Government, but he told His Majesty's Ambassador that he had found them cold and arrogant. They had flatly refused to withdraw their troops on the scheduled date and demanded full autonomy for Azerbaijan in addition to a concession to prospect for oil throughout North Persia. Qavam, in his turn, then made an appeal to the Security Council, in which he denounced the failure of the Soviet Government to withdraw their troops.

5. On 19th March the new Soviet Ambassador, M. Sadtkhikov, arrived in Tehran and, under pressure from the Security Council, negotiations were resumed. A few days later, certain Red army units were withdrawn as a conciliatory gesture, and on 5th April a joint communiqué was issued over the signatures of Qavam and Sadtkhikov in the following sense. It was agreed that the Red army should evacuate Persian territory completely within six weeks from 24th March and that within seven months from the same date legislation would be introduced to establish a joint Perso-Soviet company for the exploitation of oil resources in Persia. The Persian Government undertook, moreover, to settle the Azerbaijan question in a peaceful manner and in a spirit of benevolence towards the people of that province. At the same time the Prime Minister exchanged notes with the Soviet Ambassador, defining in general terms the nature of the joint company and the conditions under which it was to operate.

6. At this stage the Prime Minister agreed to withdraw the Persian Government's appeals to the Security Council. The Red army was completely evacuated within a few days of the date specified in the communiqué, and the Persian Government were left to grapple as best they might with the puppet régime at Tabriz which the Russians had left behind on their withdrawal. It was clear that at this stage the Soviet Government had no intention of relaxing their political stranglehold on Azerbaijan and the Caspian Provinces, although they had felt obliged, under pressure from the Security Council, to agree to a military evacuation.

7. On 23rd April Qavam published a decree in which the Government stated their intention of interpreting the organic law so as to ensure various powers and privileges for Azerbaijan, including the right of the Provincial Council to make senior departmental appointments and to be consulted about the selection of the Governor-General. The Central Government reserved full power to appoint the commanders of military and gendarmerie forces in the province. Elementary schools were to be allowed to use Turki and adequate funds were to be assigned for social services. The province would also have the right to increased representation in the Majlis, corresponding to the growth of its population.

8. This decree, which formed the basis of subsequent discussions with the Azerbaijanis, had been approved by the Russians before it was enacted. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that the Azerbaijan delegation were under direct Soviet control, the "negotiations" which followed dragged on through various stages until November. The reason why this game of double-dummy was so inordinately protracted is a matter for speculation, but it is more than likely that the essential condition of success, not stated in the Government communiqué, was in fact the inclusion of a hard core of Azerbaijani Democrats in the Central Government. Only when such aspirations became patently futile did the negotiations finally break down.

9. At the beginning of May, Jafar Pishavari, the leader of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party, came to Tehran for discussions and returned to Tabriz a fortnight later empty-handed. In June a delegation led by the Prime Minister's chief assistant, Muzaffar Firuz, visited Tabriz and it was officially announced that an agreement had been reached on the basis of the Government decree of 23rd April. But, from the explanatory memorandum published simultaneously, it was clear that no solution of the fundamental question of the armed forces had been reached.

10. The substitution of political for military pressure on the Central Government from Azerbaijan coincided with a rapid development of Tudeh activity in other parts of Persia and particularly in the capital and in Khuzistan. On 1st May Labour Day was celebrated in Abadan by a demonstration of Tudeh supporters on a scale which took the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company by surprise. There was no disorder, but, from this time on, it became clear that the party was preparing for a trial of strength with the company and that months of underground activity had resulted in the creation of a powerful organisation. The company, who had hitherto felt secure in the knowledge that their workers were better paid and far better treated than those in other parts of Persia, was suddenly exposed to a blast of fiercely hostile propaganda, which exploited every weak point in their organisation in the most unscrupulous manner. The main purpose of the party was clearly not to secure better conditions for the workers but to undermine the company's

authority. Owing to the rapid increase of output during the war, the provision of many normal amenities, and even essentials such as housing, had failed to keep pace with requirements and, in consequence, a number of workers were living under emergency conditions. In spite of every effort on the part of the company, there was bound to be a considerable delay in making good these deficiencies. The local Tudeh, inspired and directed by the Soviet Consul-General at Ahwaz, proceeded to exploit this situation. At the end of May a strike was declared at Agha Jari, a field which had undergone particularly rapid expansion during the war and where living conditions of the workers were particularly inadequate. The pretext was a demand for an increase of pay and the substitution of money for certain payments in kind, inspired no doubt by the belief that food prices would soon be stabilised or even decline. Thanks to the devotion of the British staff production was maintained, but, after a fortnight, the company decided to accede to the workers' demands rather than to risk a general strike.

11. There followed a period of uneasy equilibrium, during which more effective security measures were imposed by the Central Government as a result of representations by His Majesty's Ambassador. On the other hand Tudeh propaganda against the company continued unabated and even increased in violence. The entire Persian press, both in Khuzistan, in the capital and elsewhere, was mobilised for this purpose. In the chorus of denunciation no discordant voice was heard and there could be no doubt that matters were about to come to a head. Finally, in the middle of it all, just as the newly created Labour Council in Tehran was on the point of agreeing, with Tudeh participation, to a basis for the calculation of a minimum wage, the Tudeh leaders at Abadan declared a general strike. On the first day certain Arab contractors, who were suspected of engaging in anti-Tudeh activities, were brutally murdered and widespread disorder was only averted by the coolness and determination of the military Governor, Major Fateh, who promptly arrested the leading Tudeh agitators. This strike was called off two days later, as a result of the personal intervention of the Prime Minister's deputy, Muzaffar Firuz, who released the Tudeh leaders and persuaded the company to grant part of the

workers' demands. The cost to the company was no greater than they were prepared to incur in the ordinary process of law, but, owing to the manner in which the settlement was forced upon them, the blow to their authority was considerable. On the other hand, the reckless and undisciplined behaviour of the Tudeh Party did them much harm in the eyes of many of their own supporters.

12. While the strike was in progress H.M.S. *Norfolk* and H.M.S. *Wild Goose* were ordered to lie in the Shatt-el-Arab off Abadan and their presence undoubtedly had a sobering and reassuring effect. But, although previous notification was given, the Persian Government reacted strongly and protested that, if the arrival of these vessels was connected with the strike, it would be considered an unfriendly act. At the beginning of August it was decided to send an Indian Brigade Group to Basra for the protection of British and Indian lives, should circumstances require it. The Persian Government did not protest officially on this occasion, but the Prime Minister expressed his concern privately to His Majesty's Ambassador and also the hope that this force would shortly be withdrawn. He was given soothing assurances and was informed that there was no truth in reports that these troops had been ordered to enter Persia. Appreciation was also expressed for the effective measures taken by the Persian authorities to maintain order throughout Khuzistan.

13. Early in July, the Prime Minister announced the formation of a new party, to be known as the Democrat Party of Persia, which would be identified with himself and the members of his Government. In Persia, however, as elsewhere, it is felt that the Government should be formed by a party and not *vice versa*. There was also widespread misgiving about the composition of the party and the programme it would adopt. In particular, more responsible conservative elements were dismayed at the prominent part played in its organisation by Muzaffar Firuz, who, during six months of office as the Prime Minister's chief assistant and deputy, seemed to be acquiring a dangerous ascendancy over his master. A shallow and unscrupulous political adventurer, Firuz has lived for many years in England. He was educated at Harrow and had formerly been associated with Sayyed Zia, whose policy was consistently friendly to Britain. He acquired office on

the crest of a pro-Soviet wave and sought to ingratiate himself with the Russians by his antagonism to all things British, veiled only by insolent professions of friendship towards members of the embassy staff and any other Englishmen he might happen to meet.

14. At the beginning of August, the Prime Minister decided to extend the base of his Government by including three members of the Tudeh Party. At the same time, a new Ministry, that of Labour and Propaganda, was established under Muzaffar Firuz, who, moreover, retained his previous function as chief assistant to the Prime Minister. A few days later, the text of a communiqué was published in the press over the Prime Minister's signature, which placed a ban on all unofficial contact between members of the public and foreign embassies or consulates. Foreign missions were never officially informed of this boycott which no doubt was a piece of window-dressing for the benefit of the Soviet Embassy, whose widespread contacts through the Communist Party would be unaffected by it. It was only observed in certain districts and soon became a dead letter.

15. The concessions which the Government seemed prepared to make to the Azerbaijanis acted as an incentive to autonomous movements in other parts of the country. A complicating factor in the Abadan strike had been the emergence of a separatist Arab movement in Khuzistan, responsibility for which was quite unjustly fastened on His Majesty's Government, and the murder of a number of Arabs which followed only added fuel to the flame. In August it became known to His Majesty's Consuls at Isfahan and Shiraz that the Bakhtiari and Kashgai Khans were plotting to seize control of those cities and to destroy the Tudeh organisation in the area. Eventually, Abul Qasim Bakhtiari turned King's evidence. Muzaffar Firuz thereupon flew to Isfahan and arrested other leading members of the Bakhtiari clan. On the strength of statements extracted from them and from Abul Qasim, he then made a public announcement which implied that the conspiracy was largely the work of British agents, and in particular of His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz, Mr. Trott, who had visited Isfahan shortly before the plot was revealed. An official request was made for Mr. Trott's recall. His Majesty's Amba-

sador was instructed to press for the production of any evidence on which these allegations might be based or alternatively for an official retraction. Neither was forthcoming, but early in October the Secretary of State made a statement in the House of Commons which was previously agreed with the Persian Government, roundly disclaiming the suggestion that there had been interference in Persian affairs. The request for Mr. Trott's recall was then dropped.

16. Meanwhile, the threatened rising in Fars came to a head. For this purpose Naser Khan Kashgai concerted with Hiat Daudi and the coastal tribes at Bushire. The garrisons of Government troops in the area were isolated and reduced and, on the 29th September, Bushire fell. A punitive column eventually reached Shiraz, but could not proceed further and the High Command were accused, not without some reason, of welcoming this opportunity to demonstrate to the country the need for a firmer policy, particularly in Azerbaijan. By the middle of October fighting had ceased and an uneasy truce supervened.

17. Negotiations with the Azerbaijanis on outstanding points was resumed in August and dragged on in desultory fashion during September. There was no sign of real progress, but time appeared to be on the side of the Prime Minister until, on 3rd October, the Soviet Ambassador abruptly warned him that he had no more than three weeks in which to implement his undertaking to introduce oil legislation into the Fifteenth Majlis. In the name of his Government, M. Sadchikov demanded that elections be held forthwith. He would hear nothing of the Prime Minister's protest that the Azerbaijan question must be settled first. On 5th October the election decree was issued and the Tudeh Party began intensive agitation for the formation of a "democratic front" to include the Democrat Party of Persia, the Azerbaijan Democrats, the Tudeh themselves and one or two minor groups. The Prime Minister at first seemed inclined to toy with this dangerous proposal, but attempts to divide representation in the new Majlis in advance of the election broke down owing to the refusal of the Tudeh to accord his party more than 55 out of 136 seats.

18. At this stage the Shah intervened and prevailed upon the Prime Minister to reform his Government without the three Tudeh Ministers and, no less significant,

without the egregious Muzaffar Firuz, who, much against his will, was forced to accept the Moscow Embassy. This decision, for which the Shah deserves no less, and perhaps more credit than the Prime Minister, proved to be an important turning-point. It was followed by the interruption of negotiations with the Azerbaijan Delegation who returned to Tabriz early in November, and by the announcement that Government inspectors, supported by armed forces, would be sent into all provinces (including Azerbaijan) to ensure the fair and orderly conduct of the elections, and, a little later, by the reoccupation of Zenjan. In spite of the agitation of certain religious leaders and conservative elements in favour of a postponement of the elections, of a crescendo of protest from Tabriz and, finally, of several very blunt warnings from the Soviet Ambassador, the Prime Minister pursued his programme undeterred. On 10th December, Government troops crossed the border into Azerbaijan. On the following day, the Democrat régime disintegrated and Pishavari and a number of his associates and supporters fled across the Soviet frontier. Tabriz was occupied on 13th December, and in less than a week the whole of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan were under the effective control of the Central Government. Resistance had been negligible and the population of the province welcomed the arrival of Government forces with undisguised enthusiasm. At a single stroke the head of the alien octopus had been severed and its essential feebleness exposed.

19. It is still too soon to assess with any certainty the factors underlying this spectacular collapse. In some quarters it has been suggested that there is a sinister understanding between Qavam and the Russians, of which this country will before long have reason to repent. In others the Prime Minister is depicted as a reluctant passenger swept along to victory by the Shah and his general staff. The truth may well be that the Russians have once again misjudged imponderables and have underrated the ineptitude of their puppets no less than the determination of the Shah, his Prime Minister and his people to have done with all the mummery of compulsory progress and to win back the threadbare independence of their backward country.

20. With the reoccupation of Azerbaijan the stage was set for a general

election and everything pointed to a landslide in favour of the Prime Minister and his party. The Tudeh Party had for the time being ceased to be a factor of importance and the chief opposition to Qavam now came from those who had dominated the 14th Majlis, but could not or would not find a place in the Prime Minister's new party. In their dilemma these disgruntled, heterogeneous elements

looked to the Shah for approval and support, and it may be that they will not look in vain. The personal relations between the Shah and his Prime Minister, though outwardly correct, are, in fact, precarious. By sinking their personal differences for a time they undoubtedly turned the political tide, but if they drift apart again the outlook for Persia will be bleak indeed.

E. 3359/40/34

No. 11

PERSIA: REPORT FOR QUARTER JANUARY-MARCH 1947

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 23rd April)

(No. 114)

Tehran,

Sir,

14th April, 1947

With reference to my despatch No. 3 of the 4th January last, I have the honour to submit to you herewith a report on outstanding events in Persia during the first quarter of 1947.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Bagdad; Air Headquarters, Iraq; the British Middle East Office, Cairo; the Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East; the Government of India; and all consulates in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 11

Report for the quarter ended 31st March, 1947

During the period under review interest has centred on the elections, the re-organisation of Azerbaijan, negotiations with the tribes of Fars, attempted pacification of Kurdistan, and the economic and social plans of the Persian Government.

Elections have been held in almost every constituency throughout the country except in Azerbaijan and Fars. They constitute a total and apparently popular victory for candidates belonging to the Prime Minister's Democrat Party of Iran or for candidates approved by the Prime Minister. This has been achieved with every sort of manipulation of the polls, carried out under special instructions to provincial governors, with the suppression of rival parties and candidates, and the inclusion

of members of the Democrat Party or of candidates themselves in the supervisory boards. The new Majlis will not be convened before the end of April. The Prime Minister headed the poll in Tehran but has declined to accept a seat in the Majlis.

Early in January, Ali Mansur, a former Prime Minister, was appointed Civil Governor-General of Azerbaijan, and Governors were quickly sent to sub-districts. A military governor was also appointed for Tabriz and military courts were set up which sentenced to death various officers who deserted from the Persian army and espoused the cause of Azerbaijani independence last year. They also dealt with various other persons accused of crimes committed under the late régime. A proclamation calling for the immediate surrender of all arms was issued, and it was announced that elections to the Majlis would be held after disarmament was completed and after officials of the Central Government had taken up their posts. The new Governor-General has done his best to restore the economic life of the Province. He has been hindered by lack of funds and of honest and capable officials. The local population, supported by the Governor-General, have insisted that Government nominees shall not be imposed on the province as the only candidates for election to the Majlis. At the end of March polling began in Tabriz. His Majesty's Consul-General reported that there was no outward sign of official support for any political party, and that elections were proceeding normally. The only serious unrest in Azerbaijan was caused by the Kurds, though there has been much criticism of the slowness of the

Central Government in carrying out its many promises to the Azerbaijanis.

Early in the year Ghazi Mohammad, former leader of the Nationalist Movement, was sentenced to death along with other members of his family. The sentences have since been carried out. Military courts have awarded various sentences to other persons in Kurdistan who supported the cause of the Azerbaijan Democrats. Mulla Mustafa, leader of the Barzani tribal immigrants from Iraq, was offered land for himself and his band in an agricultural area to the east of Tehran. He refused this offer and at the end of the quarter the Barzanis were retreating towards the frontier followed by Persian army and air forces to ensure their departure. This led to various clashes in which a number of casualties occurred. Punitive measures have also had to be taken against the Herki tribes under Zero Beg, with whom the Barzanis endeavoured to join forces. Other Kurdish chiefs have been invited to visit Tehran and entertained lavishly with a view to inducing them to surrender their arms peacefully and to remain loyal to the Central Government.

The affairs of Fars have proceeded smoothly on the surface. It was announced in January that a general amnesty was granted to those who had taken part in the revolt last year, and that all arms and equipment captured from the Government forces must be handed over at once. The Fars National Movement dissolved itself, and Nasir Khan, the Qashgai leader, asked for admission to the Prime Minister's Democratic Party of Iran. At the same time requests for economic reforms in Fars and the Persian Gulf ports were submitted to the Central Government on behalf of the people of Fars, and Nasir Khan himself visited Tehran, where he is believed to have struck a bargain with the Shah for favourable treatment as regards disarming of his own tribes by the military authorities, in return for support of certain candidates at the elections. He is also understood to have negotiated with the Prime Minister for the election of himself and one of his brothers. Before the end of the quarter elections had been held in one or two constituencies, though not in Shiraz or Bushire. All successful candidates were persons approved by the Prime Minister.

The Soviet Consulate in Shiraz was closed early in March.

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The Prime Minister has made two important broadcasts during the period under review. On the 11th January he announced his electoral programme, contrasting the state of Persia now with its condition when he took over office, and forecasting comprehensive economic and social reforms if his party were elected to the Majlis. On the occasion of the Persian New Year, on the 21st March, he outlined in great detail his Government's seven-year plan which provides for vast expenditure on agriculture, irrigation, fisheries, mines and industries, public health, education, the army, the gendarmerie and police forces, justice, roads, railways, ports and civil aviation, posts and telegraphs. He also restated the Government's foreign policy on lines which are already familiar. He said that his seven-year plan had been approved by the American engineering mission. As stated in the last quarterly report, this mission is under the leadership of the vice-president of the Morrison-Knudsen Corporation. It arrived here at the end of last year as a result of the request of the Persian Government for a loan of 250 million dollars from the International Bank.

The Shah has continued to keep himself in the public eye. He has done his utmost to secure credit, as commander-in-chief of the army, for the reoccupation of Azerbaijan, as opposed to the Prime Minister, who claims political credit. Early in the year he allowed a number of politicians to take refuge at the Palace as a protest against the lack of freedom in the elections, and he has made no secret of his apprehension of a sweeping victory for Qavam es Saltaneh and his party.

In December, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions announced the Federation's intention to send a delegation to Persia for the purpose of investigating labour conditions and the alleged suppression of working-class organisations throughout the country. The Persian Government were at first reluctant to grant facilities for the visit of this delegation, but they eventually came round to the view that more harm than good would be done by keeping it out. The Delegation consisted of three members, Lebanese, Russian and British, with a French secretary. The British member, Mr. Harries, reached this country according to programme on 25th February. M. Borisov, his Russian colleague, had arrived

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the previous day, but the Lebanese member, M. El Aris, did not arrive until 18th March and, as he was chairman, the delegation could not be constituted in his absence.

Earlier, on 5th January, the Tudeh Party had made a spectacular announcement of its own reorganisation with a view to the adoption of a more moderate and patriotic policy. By way of proving their change of heart they imposed a token purge. The party as reconstituted, maintained, however, that they were still unable to contest the general elections officially, since the arrest of prominent party members made it impossible to canvass the electorate in the ordinary way. A few weeks later, in February, an attempt was made to reconstitute the Persian Federation of Trade Unions which, under the direction of Reza Rusta, claimed, not very convincingly, to be independent of the Tudeh Party, and therefore unaffected by its reorganisation. Reza Rusta, however, refused to fall in with the plans of the Ministry of Labour and withdrew with a rump of his original committee to a building adjoining that in which the reconstituted committee was installed.

Thus, by the time the delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions could be constituted, there were two rival organisations disputing the right to represent the Persian Federation of Trade Unions. The chairman and M. Borisov, as good Communists, were naturally inclined to take the view that Reza Rusta, though victimised by Government agents, was still the true leader of labour in Persia, but it was by no means certain whether this view would be shared by their British colleague. The investigations of the delegates are still in progress, and it is not yet possible for foretell what their verdict will be. In the meanwhile, factory councils have been established in a number of Government-controlled industrial establishments, and in private factories at Isfahan, and elections are in progress at the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company refinery in Abadan. Trade union regulations have been approved finally by the Council of Ministers. Minimum wage regulations have been brought into force in Tehran and Khuzistan. The labour attaché at this embassy has assisted throughout, in the drawing up of these regulations.

Foreign relations have followed a normal course during the period under review. Representatives of His Majesty's Treasury have continued discussions with

the Persian Government regarding Persian war claims and the currency question. Fears have been expressed that the A.I.O.C.-Standard Oil Corporation pipeline agreement may affect the volume of oil to be refined at Abadan and be prejudicial to Persian interests in other ways. It was explained to the Prime Minister that the agreement is a commercial one which, so far as His Majesty's Government is aware, is beneficial to local interests.

During March, a delegation under the leadership of Professor Hekmat, a former Minister of Education, visited India to attend the Inter-Asian Relations Conference convened by Pandit Nehru at New Delhi and to study cultural and economic and political questions. Later in the month, a trade delegation from India spent a fortnight in Persia examining, in collaboration with the Ministry of Commerce, questions of mutual interest, in Tehran and other centres. A visit was paid by Sir Ronald Adam, chairman of the British Council, when the work of the Council in this country was reviewed. He was received by the Shah and by the Prime Minister and many complimentary speeches were exchanged.

Most of the Hurricanes supplied to the Persian Air Force have now been handed over and a detachment of the Royal Navy has commenced salvage operations on ships of the Persian Navy which were sunk during the war and arrangements have been made for a senior Persian naval officer to proceed to the United Kingdom for a course of instruction.

The contracts of the American military mission and of the gendarmerie mission have been renewed for two years and the comprehensive economic survey undertaken by the Morrison-Knudsen Corporation has been continued throughout the quarter. There have been no new negotiations of importance with the United States Government.

At the beginning of the year a Soviet publicity campaign was organised against the Persian Government, which was accused by the Moscow radio and Soviet press of savage measures against the Azerbaijan Democrats and reactionary treatment of workers in other parts of the country. Pishevari and his associates from Azerbaijan were given asylum in Russian territory—most of them in a concentration camp, whence they have been released recently to return to Persia in a starved condition—and Pishevari was for

a time allowed to broadcast anti-Persian speeches.

Early in the year the Prime Minister addressed a letter to His Majesty's Ambassador regarding losses occasioned to Persia by Germany and requesting assistance in securing representation at the Peace Conference. Support for this was given at the Council of Deputy

Foreign Ministers in London, but the matter was referred to Moscow, where it is still under consideration by the Foreign Ministers. The Russians are endeavouring to take credit for being the sole supporters of Persian request to participate in the negotiation of the German Peace Treaty. The Persian claim against Germany is 450 million dollars.

E 3631/1/G

No. 12

PERSO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th April)

(No. 536. Secret)

Tehran,

(Telegraphic)

29th April, 1947.

The Prime Minister sent M. Nikpay to see me last night to give me the following strictly confidential information.

2. During the past few weeks Soviet pressure on Persian Government has been renewed. It began through indirect channels, but on 23rd April Soviet Ambassador saw Minister of Finance and complained of unfriendly attitude of the Persian Government towards the Soviet Union. M. Sadtekhov went over much familiar ground. He pointed out that armed forces were substantially under American control, that, whereas Civil Air Agreement proposed by the Russians had been evaded on transparent pretexts, Americans were now in virtual control of civil air lines throughout the country and that the project of financing reconstruction programme with a foreign loan would consolidate the Anglo-Saxon control over national economy. On the other hand, even normal movement of Russian goods into Persia was subjected to all kinds of obstruction and chicanery (a reference, no doubt, to recent insistence on Soviet goods being cleared through customs and paying duty in normal way). Ambassador reminded Hajir of the extent of Persian and Soviet [group undecipherable] and gave him to understand the Soviet Union were not prepared to acquiesce indefinitely in Government's present policy.

3. A noticeable feature of Sadtekhov's remarks seems to have been that, in spite of

his threatening tone, he made no specific demands. He did not even refer to the oil agreement or the need for an early convention of the Majlis. In this respect also his representations followed the same lines as those which have reached the Persian Government through other channels. I understand that a special section of the Soviet Embassy has been created for the purpose of influencing individual members of the new Majlis and exploiting rifts which are already appearing within the Prime Minister's party. No doubt it is felt that there must be period of "softening up" before the situation is ripe for a direct assault upon the Prime Minister himself, and in the meantime he will be subjected to a war of nerves from all sides. It is, I suggest, against some such background that the Soviet Ambassador's latest representations are to be explained. It will, therefore, only weaken the Prime Minister's position if he allows himself now to become involved in a discussion of Soviet grievances, real or imaginary. So perhaps his only means of consolidating his authority will be to convene the Majlis and to put the oil agreement to vote before his party disintegrates. According to M. Nikpay the Majlis will convene as soon as the elections are over in Azerbaijan.

4. American Ambassador told me yesterday that the Prime Minister had spoken to him, also in strict confidence, on lines very similar to those described in paragraph 2 above.

PERSO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Sir M. Peterson to Mr. Bevin. (Received 19th May)

(No. 1170. Secret) *Moscow,*
(Telegraphic) *19th May, 1947*
Tehran telegram No. 579: Persian-Soviet relations.

There have been some signs in recent Soviet propaganda of renewed pressure on Persia, but these have so far been relatively slight. Judging by the recent remarks of the untrustworthy Persian Ambassador here to the Minister, he is probably the main source of the disturbing reports received by the Persian Prime Minister. The only concrete evidence produced by Firouz was, however, the despatch at short notice to Tehran, as chargé d'affaires, of Silim, a member of the Collegium of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to take the place of the former Soviet Ambassador.

Firouz has in the past been prone to take an over alarmist view of Soviet intentions, and while neither I nor the American Embassy have any evidence one way or the other, the reported strengthening of Russian garrisons south of the Caucasus and the story of Zhukov's transfer to Tiflis seem typical examples of the alarmist rumours which have circulated periodically in the Soviet Union over the past two years. Soviet military action against Persia seems out of the question in the present international situation. But the Soviet Government may well want to frighten the Persian Government before the Majlis meets to discuss oil concessions, and Firouz is a perfect instrument for this purpose.

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th May)

(No. 616) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *23rd May, 1947.*
Following received from Tabriz, telegram No. 136 of 22nd May:—

"General Soviet policy as regards Persians and Azerbaijan seems to be—

"(a) To keep the whole province in a state of unrest and anxiety regarding possible Russian re-entry.

"(b) To incite the Kurds and Assyrians in western Azerbaijan against the Persian army.

"2. In view of the misinformation put about by Soviet agents in Tabriz and Tehran, and sometimes quoted by Angora and other foreign radio stations, I suggested to the General Officer Commanding in Azerbaijan to-day that he might make more use of Tabriz radio to kill rumours likely to upset public confidence, and to give

the people regular and strictly accurate picture of the situation. He said that he would do so.

"3. Activities of Russian official representatives in western Azerbaijan have been increasing of late and Jafarov and Ali Akbarov (of Russian Vice-Consulate in Rezaieh) are stated by the officer commanding to have organised system of espionage which penetrates into Turkish Consulate at Rezaieh. Their agents are Assyrians, Azerbaijanians and Kurds (all Persians), who pass easily into Turkey and return with information. Jafarov has frequent meetings with Soviet authorities at Araplar Bridge (near Maku).

"4. Some of the agents have been arrested by the Persian authorities, who are keeping watchful eye on them.

"Please repeat to Foreign Office as my telegram No. 7."

VISIT OF THE SHAH TO TABRIZ

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th May)

(No. 626) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *26th May, 1947*
Following received from Tabriz:—

"Addressed to Tehran telegram No. 139 of 26th May, repeated to Foreign Office.

1. The Shah arrived at Tabriz on the evening of 25th May and was accorded very enthusiastic reception by huge crowds.

2. No incidents took place.

3. Of the spontaneity of the welcome by the Azerbaijan masses there is no doubt.

Please repeat to Foreign Office as my telegram No. 8."

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 6th June)

(No. 653. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *5th June, 1947*

The Prime Minister told me this morning that his information from Russia was still disturbing. It seems that Pishavari was recently summoned to Moscow for an audience with Stalin and that he is taking part in administration of Baku. He has also heard that one of the fugitive Persian officers was now receiving staff training with the Red army.

2. The Prime Minister said that he had no further information about plans of Soviet Ambassador nor any corroboration of

reports that he would not return to Persia. I rather fancy that the Prime Minister has changed his mind on this point since he mentioned subject to me last month. He said before M. Sadtkhikov left he had discussed with him proposed purchase of military stores in the United States. He had done his best to convince him that it had been intended exclusively for domestic use and that the Persian Government was particularly attracted by low price for for which they were offered. He did not seem to feel that he had made much impression on the ambassador.

PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th June)

(No. 690) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *16th June, 1947.*

Following is part of text of interview given by the Prime Minister to representative of *Le Monde* as published in the *Democrat* of Iran this morning.

Question.—What date have you in mind for the opening of the Majlis?

Answer.—There is no obstacle to the opening of the Majlis, but we are waiting for the end of the elections in Azerbaijan and Fars. But it is possible that, on account of the summer heat and the departure [group undecipherable: ? of] Depu-

ties to their constituencies, there may be some delay in the opening of Parliament.

Question.—If I am not mistaken, your Government is a Government which has an absolute majority in the Majlis. The Democrat Party of which you are the leader was victorious in the elections. Consequently, the programme of this party will undoubtedly be presented to the Majlis and put into effect. The Perso-Soviet Agreement of 5th April, in accordance with which the formation of a Perso-Soviet company for the exploitation of the oil of the north of Persia is envisaged, was signed by you. It may, therefore, be assumed that

this agreement will be accepted by a Majlis in which there is a majority of the Democrat Party.

Answer.—The programme of my party is in principle that of the execution of the Seven-Year Plan which has been prepared, and in that programme there is no mention whatever of the formation of an oil company. Nevertheless, regarding the agreement which I signed with the Soviet, this is an obligation and I do not desire to become known as a man who does not fulfil his promises; therefore, nothing shall prevent me from submitting to Parliament the necessary proposals. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the circumstances are no longer the same as they were when that agreement was signed. A change has come about in that the representatives of the people have now been elected and the Majlis will shortly be opened. It is not possible for me to impose a particular point of view on the Deputies, who are free to form their own views and opinions. Were I to attempt to do so it is possible that the very principles on which agreement has

been reached would be rejected by the Majlis, and such an event would be both unpleasant for me and the cause of displeasure to a friendly neighbouring Power, that is to say, the U.S.S.R. Consequently, both signatories to this agreement must take into account the present situation and prepare a plan, which, when put forward, will be capable of being discussed and accepted by public opinion and by Parliament. It follows that it is necessary that before the opening of the Majlis further discussions and study should take place.

Question.—In the international press it has been stated that it is possible that countries who have interests in the oil of Persia may participate in the company to be formed to exploit the oil in Northern Persia.

Answer.—No, it is not so, and in the agreement in question nothing of this kind exists. The original agreement which I signed and shall submit to the Majlis contemplated the creation of a joint Perse-Soviet company.

E 5475/40/34

No. 18

CHANGES IN THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th June)

(No. 718.) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) 23rd June, 1947.

My telegram No. 714.

Qavam's fifth Government, though not essentially different from the last, is a definite improvement.

2. Of the five Ministers dropped, Aramish and Nikpay are known to have collected money, ostensibly for the party chest, by highly irregular means, and Amir Alai, Shayegan and Sayyah are nonentities. Of the new Ministers Issa Sadiq Hekmat and Salam Assadi are all three good Moslems of character and ability and are old friends of this embassy. Mustaffa Adl (Minister for Justice) is an outstanding personality, and Ahmed Hussein Adl a specialist experienced in agriculture. Little is known of the new Ministers for the Interior and Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, but the Prime Minister will no doubt retain essential control of the interior while Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones is a junior appointment.

Humayunjah and Musavizadeh are retained without portfolio presumably because it would be embarrassing to drop them at this stage. Thus as regards both ability and respectability the new Government is distinctly better than its predecessors.

3. Creation of a Ministry of National Economy is probably without much significance and really a continuation of the Ministry of Commerce under a new name. The retention of the Ministry of Labour with Asadi as new incumbent is of some interest in view of the recent attempt to get rid of it and of the serious warning which I gave Assadi himself that this would make an unfavourable impression in labour circles abroad. M. Assadi would, I fancy, have preferred the Ministry of National Economy, but he should make an excellent Minister for Labour, not to speak of Propaganda, which for some unknown reason is still a function of his new department.

E 5601/1688/34

No. 19

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN PERSIA, 1947

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th June)

(No. 212)

Tehran, 18th June, 1947.

With reference to my despatch No. 163 of 1946, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a list of personalities in Persia revised for 1947.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure

Report on Leading Personalities in Persia

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1. Adl Mustafa (Mansur-us-Saltaneh)

Born in Tabriz about 1885. Went to Egypt when quite young. There he finished his primary education and afterwards went to Paris. In Paris he studied law, and graduated from the Faculty of Law in that city. Secretary at the consulate at Tiflis in 1903. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short period, and then transferred to the Ministry of Justice. Appointed a member of the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission in 1913. Since then employed principally as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice until 1927. He became in that year legal adviser to the Ministry and drafted a number of new judicial codes. A member of the Supervisory Board of the National Bank from 1929-32; in 1933 Director of the Legislation Department of the Ministry of Justice, and professor in the Law Academy at Tehran.

Appointed Persian Minister at Berne in 1934. Recalled to Tehran, December 1936. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, March 1937. Under-Secretary, July 1937. Acting Minister, March 1938. Minister at Rome, July 1938, and also accredited to Budapest, September 1938.

Returned from Rome late in 1941. Director of the Faculty of Law 1941. Minister of Education in Soheily's Cabinet, March to August 1942. He was not conspicuous for help to the Allied cause in 1942 and if it is true that he has now retired from public service it will not be much loss. He was, however, appointed Minister without Portfolio in Soheily's Cabinet, January to March 1944 and again in Sa'id's Cabinet from March to August 1944 when, on the reconstitution of the Cabinet, he was dropped. Minister of Justice in Bayat's Government of November 1944 and again Minister without Portfolio in Sadr's Cabinet of June 1945. Delegate to U.N.O., January 1946.

A quiet little man without much personality. A good bridge player. Speaks French.

2. Afshar, Riza

Born at Urmieh (now Reza'iyeh) about 1888. Joined the Ministry of Finance as a young man, and during Mirza Kuchik Khan's rebellion in Gilan acted as financial agent to him; and soon after the war he got away with certain funds from the Finance

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164. Zand, Ibrahim.
165. Zarim-Kafsh, Ali Asghar.

Office in Resht. With these he bought carpets and took them to America for sale. Served also under Sir P. Cox, who paid him well. Returned to Persia in 1921, full of American ideas and education. Joined the staff of Dr. Millspaugh, the American financial adviser. A staunch supporter of the Pahlavi régime; elected to the 5th 6th and 7th Majlis. Opposed Firoz Mirza when the latter was Minister of Finance. Governor of Gilan in 1929. While at that post he organised the Gilan Import and Export Company, which was founded in opposition to Russian trade monopoly methods. As a result he incurred the hostility of the Russian interests there. Governor-General of Kerman in 1931. Minister of Roads in February 1932. Resigned in the following July, being unable to build the Chalus road fast enough for the Shah. Governor of Isfahan September 1932 to December 1933. Since then unemployed. Was put under surveillance in Tehran in 1935 owing to supposed inefficiency (perhaps complicity) in connexion with the Bakhtiari plots in 1934. Sentenced to six months' imprisonment and permanent exclusion from Government service, in June 1936, for accepting a bribe when Minister of Roads.

Governor-General of Isfahan, May-June 1944, until Supreme Court of Appeal decided he was ineligible for office on the grounds of the sentence passed on him in 1936. Secretary to the Iranian Airways, December 1944.

Speaks English fluently. Full of ideas and energy. Very nationalistic, and rather anti-British and anti-religious.

3. Ala, Hussein, C.M.G. (Mu'in-ul-Vizareh).

Born about 1884. Son of the late Prince Ala-es-Saltaneh, for many years Persian Minister in London. Educated at Westminster School, where he seems to have received rough treatment, which resulted in a strong anti-British bias, at any rate for the next few years. Created C.M.G. in 1905, when he accompanied his father on a special mission to London for the coronation of the late King Edward VII. Appointed "chef de cabinet" in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1906, his late father being then Minister for Foreign Affairs. He remained as "chef de cabinet" to various Ministers

until 1915. Appointed Minister of Public Works in January 1918, and continued to direct that Ministry during the Cabinet presided over by Samsam-us-Saltaneh, which was in power from May to August 1918. This Cabinet abrogated the Treaty of Turkmanchai.

Ala was hostile to Sir Charles Marling. His Majesty's Minister from 1915 to 1918, and caused repeated complaints to be made to the Foreign Office through his brother, who was then Persian Minister in London. He accompanied the abortive Persian mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1918. Appointed Persian Minister at Madrid in 1919, and at Washington in 1920. Conducted negotiations in Washington in 1921-22 for the American Financial Mission to Persia, after he had failed to obtain the North Persia Oil Concession first for the Standard Oil Company and then for the Sinclair Corporation. Returned from Washington in 1925 and took his seat in the fifth Majlis as a Deputy for Tehran. Minister of Public Works for a short time in May 1927. Second delegate to the League of Nations for some time. Attended Locarno in that capacity in December 1928.

Appointed Minister at Paris in 1929. One of the Persian delegates selected to represent Persia before the League of Nations in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Returned to Tehran early in 1933 to take over a high post in the National Bank of Persia, though he had no particular knowledge of banking. Was also very active in the organisation of the "Red Lion and Sun," and in the Ferdausi Memorial Committee.

In 1931 his transfer to the post of Minister in London was mooted, though it did not materialise. On that occasion His Majesty's Government were unwilling to receive him, on the ground that his attitude in reporting a libel on His Majesty King George V rendered it difficult to suppose that he was then animated by friendly sentiments.

Appointed Minister in London, July 1934. Recalled in the summer of 1936; returned to Tehran in October. Appointed Supervisor of Monopoly Companies, December 1936. Director-General of Commerce in 1937, and given the new appointment of Minister of Commerce in September 1937. Removed from this appointment, April 1938. Chief Persian attached to Major-General the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice during their visit to Tehran for the Crown Prince's wedding, April 1939.

Married Fatimeh Khanum, the only daughter of the late Abu'l Qasim Khan Qaraguzlu (Nasir-ul-Mulk), Regent of Persia, in July 1927. Mme. Ala was one of the first of her generation to leave off the veil. President of the National Bank, October 1941. Minister of Court, October 1942, but appears to have done nothing to curb the young Shah's evident intention to rule the country in much the same way as his father did.

Appointed Ambassador to Washington in August 1945 when status of Persian Legation there was raised to that of an embassy. Was very active in giving publicity in the United States to the Persian case over the Azerbaijan problem and showed ability in presenting Persia's case to the Security Council.

A hard worker and a staunch patriot; intelligent and well-read; interested in the literature of many countries and quite a good pianist. Has a perfect command of English and speaks good French. In the past he has had a reputation for anti-British sentiments. In 1943 and 1944, however, his relations with the British Legation were good; he seems a good deal more anti-Russian than anti-British, and is doubtless more pro-Persian than

either. He is a sensitive Persian Nationalist who realises the failings of his fellow-countrymen. Tends to overrate the virtues of the Shah.

4. Amini, Dr. Ali

Fourth son of Mohsen Amini (Amin-ed-Douleh). Born at Tehran in 1903. Educated in Persia and in France. Studied law at Paris. Married one of the daughters of Hassan Vussugh (Vussugh-ed-Douleh). Served for some years in the Customs Administration; appointed acting head of Customs about May 1936 and (1939) head thereof until the autumn, when General Amir Khosrovi had him transferred to the Ministry of Finance as one of the Minister's assistants.

Secretary to Qavam-us-Saltaneh when Prime Minister in 1942. Appointed as head of a commercial mission to Washington by the latter, but did not proceed.

Was sent by the Persian Government to India in 1945 to study the possibilities for developing trade between India and Persia and to examine the foreign exchange control question. Chairman of the board of directors of the Industrial Bank, November 1946. Member of Democrat Party of Iran.

Speaks French and is intelligent. Accused by his enemies of various kinds of peculation and sharp practice. An agreeable and usually helpful representative of the younger school.

5. Amirahmadi, Ahmad Agha

Born in Tehran about 1880. Comes from an Ardebil family, his forbears having emigrated from the Caucasus. Enlisted in the Cossack Brigade in 1899 and received speedy promotion; he was soon commissioned, and was a general in 1920. Took a prominent part in operations against the Jangalis in 1919. When the army was reorganised in 1922 he was given the rank of Amir Lashkar (chief of a division) and placed in command of the Western Division with headquarters at Hamadan. Was recalled on account of his shameless robbery and for his treacherous oppression of the Lurs; but, being a favourite of Reza Shah's, he was appointed to command the amnieh or road guards. Appointed in 1926 to command the North-West Division, while retaining command of the amnieh. Recalled the next year, and appointed to command in Luristan in the spring of 1928. He succeeded in pacifying Luristan by the summer, and in disarming the Lurs; he also assisted in the construction of the Khorramabad road. Promoted Sepahbod (field-marshal) in April 1929 as a reward for his services. Returned to Tehran for medical treatment, and left for Europe in 1930. Sent to Kurdistan to disarm the Kurds in December 1931. Commanded operations against Jaafar Sultan in 1932, and against Lura in 1933. Director of Remounts, 1935.

Minister of War in Furughi's Cabinet which negotiated the Tripartite Treaty in 1942. Military Governor of Tehran with wide powers to suppress the rioting in December, 1942; and then Minister of War under Qavam-es-Saltaneh and Soheily. Resigned December 1943 when Soheily reformed his Cabinet and at the Shah's instance appointed Zand, a civilian, as Minister of War. Refused command of the Southern division as he considered he would not be properly supported in Tehran in that appointment. Suspected by the Russians and disliked by the Shah and Yazdan-Panah for his attempt to insist on the authority of the Ministry of War and to limit the Shah's intervention in matters of command and administration. Ambitious and always hopeful of becoming Prime Minister. Though his record of bribe-taking and his sketchy education do not make him a satisfactory candidate

for a head of Government, he has shown himself a man of action and determination in times of crisis, and has been very friendly to us since Reza Shah's departure. Minister of War in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Speaks Russian. His accumulated wealth and large properties appear to have satisfied his desires, so that he seems to have got over his youthful inclination towards robbery.

6. Amir Alai, Shams-ud-Din

Born about 1896. Senior official in the Ministry of Agriculture until his appointment as Acting Minister under Qavam-us-Saltanah, February 1946. Appointed Minister under Qavam-us-Saltanah in August and again in October 1946. Quiet, ineffective little man with no great administrative capabilities, but will always do what he is told.

7. Amiri Javad

Born in Tehran 1895, from a Semnan family. Educated in Persia and France. Speaks French, and has studied law in Paris. Entered the service of the Ministry of Justice in 1914, and was for many years assistant to the French judicial adviser attached to the Ministry of Justice. Was a professor in the law school. In 1928 appointed president of the Tribunal of Commerce. President of the court of first instance in Tehran 1931-34. Director of the Department of Legislation in the Ministry of Justice in 1934. Went to Bagdad with Fathullah Noury Esfandiary in December 1935 as legal and technical adviser in the abortive negotiations about the frontier, &c., with Iraq. Juridical Counsellor in charge of the Advisory Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1938. Administrative Director-General, August 1938, and Under-Secretary, January 1939, in that Ministry.

In charge of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at the time of the invasion 1941. Minister of the Interior in Soheily's Cabinet 1942, and later Minister of Justice; in the former post he was a disappointment, in the latter he was more at home but was soon replaced. Elected to the 14th Majlis from Semnan, December 1943.

Accompanied Qavam-us-Saltanah on his mission to Moscow in February 1946.

A man of considerable influence and importance in his capacity as technical adviser on legislation. Having been trained by the French legal advisers here, his ideas of law are somewhat different from those held by British lawyers.

Conscientious and hard-working, with a lawyer's capacity for rapid assimilation of detail. Amiable but weak.

8. Amir-Taimur Kalali, Muhammad Ibrahim

Born about 1895. Member of a well-known Khorassan tribe. Educated in Tehran. Elected to the Majlis in the time of Reza Shah, and again for Mashhad in the 14th Majlis elections, 1943 where he headed the poll. Vice-President of the Majlis 1944.

A rich landowner who smokes opium. Was on Foundation Committee of Irano-Soviet Cultural Relations Society, March 1944.

In 1945 he showed an inclination to turn to the Embassy for support against Russian pressure.

Arrested August 1946 under Military Law Ordinance. Released after a short detention. Elected Deputy for Meshed in 15th Majlis.

A talkative demagogue, fond of working himself into passionate indignation about subjects which he does not understand. For instance, he opposed

the Tripartite Treaty and caused the Feroughi Cabinet a great deal of trouble. But he is amenable to argument, and, though pig-headed and vain, is not entirely without good ideas.

9. Ansari, Abdul Hussein Mas'ud

The eldest son of the late Ali Quli Ansari Mushavir-ul-Mamluk. Born 1899. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. Served for a number of years in the Persian Embassy at Moscow as secretary, and his rapid promotion is largely due to his father's influence. Counsellor at Moscow in 1927, and held that post till he was transferred to Tehran in 1931. Head of the Economics Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in September 1933. Went to Germany as a member of the Persian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Head of the Third Political Section (dealing with British affairs) 1936. Head of the Protocol Department, November 1937. Consul-General, Delhi, May 1938. Minister to Sweden 1941. Returned to Tehran in 1944 and was appointed Head of the Tripartite Pact Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Vice-President of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Gilan, November 1945.

Married a Russian in Moscow; the lady was suspected of being a spy; she died in Berlin in 1936 leaving one child, a boy. Married an Iranian in 1937.

Civil and fairly energetic. Showed pointed discourtesy to His Majesty's Consul at Resht when the consulate was re-opened late in 1946. Speaks Russian, French and German; his outlook is almost as much Russian as Persian, and many of his colleagues distrust him accordingly.

10. Ansari, Ghulam Ali, Brigadier (Sartip)

Born about 1890, of a military family in Isfahan. Educated in France—was private in French army and later trained at Fontainebleau Artillery School. Soon earned a reputation for honesty and energy in the army. Military attaché at Washington 1917-18. Then studied at Ecole de Guerre in France and passed with distinction. Removed from army in 1937 by Riza Shah, rejoined in 1941. Director of Artillery, November 1941. Commandant of the Officers' School, June 1942. Assistant to General Greely, United States army, when adviser to the Ministry of War, August 1942. Under-Secretary of War September 1943-April 1944. Head of Baluchistan Inspection Commission, November 1944. Deputy Chief of General Staff, January 1945; dismissed when Qavam came into power, February 1946. Inspector in the Ministry of War, April 1946. Was a close associate of General Arfa before Arfa was arrested in April 1946, since when he has been the target for much abuse in the Russian-controlled section of the press. A patriot with anti-Russian sentiments. Honest, hard-working and serious. Unpopular in army because of a rough tongue, a strong temper and an uncompromising mind.

Married to a daughter of Abdul Husain Shaibani (Wahid-ul-Mulk).

11. Agerli (Agheeli), Farajullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born in Isfahan 1888, the son of the late Dr. Amanullah Khan, a well-known physician. Educated in Tehran; speaks French and some English. Entered the service of the gendarmerie in 1911. His brother, Colonel Fazlullah Khan,

committed suicide when a member of the Anglo-Persian Military Commission, which sat in 1919-20.

Appointed general in 1922, and Chief of Staff to the Western Army in Hamadan. Military Governor of Gilan for a time in 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan 1928 to 1930, during which time he showed administrative ability in establishing the authority of the new régime.

Accused of partiality towards the tribes, he was placed on the retired list in 1930.

Appointed Director-General of the Registration and Civil Census Department in 1932. Relieved of this appointment in 1934.

Re-employed in the army after the departure of Reza Shah, was suspected of pro-German bias at the time of the arrest of Zahidi in 1942. Head of the Gendarmerie in 1942 and did his best to re-organise that force; but was not in close agreement with the American Gendarmerie advisers. Arrested and removed with other suspects to Sultanabad in June 1943. Released at the end of the war with Japan. Appointed President of Military Tribunal, November 1945; Chief of General Staff under Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Resigned April 1946 on grounds of ill-health. In September he was appointed Governor of the Sepah (Military) Bank. He is suffering from a weak heart affected by rheumatism and is no longer capable of much effort.

12. Aramish, Ahmad

Born about 1902. Has held various Government posts. June 1944 was in charge of all Accounts Departments in the Ministry of Finance factories. Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry June 1946—resigned September 1946. Set up the Labour Inspection administration in Khuzistan in June 1946 and became Secretary-General to the Democrat Party of Iran July 1946. Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister October 1946 when he resigned his secretaryship of the Democrat Party of Iran. Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry late October 1946. Minister of Labour and Propaganda December 1946. Whilst Minister of Labour and Propaganda was strongly opposed by many of his Cabinet colleagues because of his efforts to collect party funds by irregular means which he was suspected of turning to his own advantage. His Ministry's programme of social reform was also extremely unpopular with certain Right-wing members of his party.

Affable and energetic but unreliable, immature and lacking political sense. Speaks good English and French.

13. Arasteh, Nadir

A Qajar prince. Born about 1893. Governor of Pahlavi in 1928. Deputy-Governor of Azerbaijan in 1930-32. Governor of Khuzistan, May 1932-August 1933. Has also served in the Persian Legation in London. Appointed Minister to Poland, December 1933. Appointed first Persian Minister to the Argentine Republic, August 1935; presented his letters in October 1935. Recalled to Tehran, October 1936; the post being abolished. In charge of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a short while in 1937. Minister at Berlin, August 1937. Accredited also to The Hague in 1939. Recalled from Berlin, May 1940. Governor-General of Mazandaran, January 1942 and of Gilan, January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, November 1944 in Bayat's Government and for Communications in Sadr's Cabinet, June to November 1945. Appointed Governor-General, Isfahan, May 1946, withdrawn October 1946.

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14. Ardalan, Dr. Ali Quli

Born about 1900; brother of Amanullah Ardalan. Served mostly under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in various posts from 1922. Secretary at Washington, 1932, where he had a dispute with Ghaffar Jalal, the Minister. Counsellor at Vichy after the collapse of France in 1940. Returned to Tehran 1942 and was in charge of the English section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for more than a year, fulfilling his duties with efficiency. Counsellor at Angora at the end of 1945.

Speaks English. Very helpful to us while he was at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

15. Ardalan, Amanullah (Haji Izz-ul-Mamalik)

Born about 1888. Son of Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk of Kurdistan. Educated at Tehran. Elected a Deputy to the second Majlis through the influence of his father, when the latter was Governor of Arabistan. Served first in the Ministry of Finance. An active member of the Democratic party and elected to the third Majlis from Kermanshah. A pro-German during the war of 1914-18, he left Persia for Turkey at that time. After the war he became financial agent for Kerman through bribing Akbar Mirza, the Minister of Finance, and made a good thing of that post. Financial agent for Fars 1922-23. A member of the fifth Majlis. A close friend of Suleiman Mirza and the Socialists. Minister of Public Works in Sadr Sepah's Cabinet of October 1923. Resigned, April 1924. Again employed under the Ministry of Finance in Kerman and Fars. Governor of Astarabad 1928; of Luristan, &c., in 1932, of Gilan in 1933, and again of Luristan in 1934, of Bushire and the Gulf Ports 1935; and Governor-General of Kerman in May 1936. Recalled in August 1937.

Governor-General of Azerbaijan (West) at the time of the invasion 1941; fled precipitately to Tehran when the Russians advanced, fearing that revenge would be taken on him for various anti-Russian measures which he had been ordered to take. Then Director-General of Ministry of Finance, and Governor of Isfahan in 1942. Minister of Public Health in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. Minister of Finance in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Has been very helpful to us since 1941. Speaks some English. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Sa'id's Cabinet, March 1944 but dropped in August 1944. Returned to Cabinet under Bayat in November 1944, resigned April 1945. Minister of Justice in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945-January 1946.

An intelligent and progressive person, though not over-scrupulous when it comes to taking money.

16. Ardalan, Nasir Quli

Born in Tehran 1896. Third son of the late Haji Fakhr-ul-Mulk, who was a Court official; his mother is the daughter of Izz-ed-Douleh and granddaughter of Mohammed Shah. Educated at Tehran and in Belgium. Spent a year in London learning English. Returned to Persia 1915 and entered the service of the Ministry of the Interior, where he served for fifteen years. Served as Governor of Do-Dangeh in Mazandaran, of Firuzkuh, and in Khuzistan as Acting Governor. Then was Governor of Sari, Acting Governor of Mazandaran, and Governor of Semnan. Governor of Mohammerah (Khorramshahr) in 1925, and Governor of Abadan in 1930. Employed in the National Bank since 1931.

Intelligent and capable. Elected deputy Mr Sonneh in the Majlis elections of December 1943.

17. Arfa, Hassan.

Born about 1890, the eldest son of the late Prince Reza Arfa (Arfa-ed-Douleh). Educated in Russia and France: his mother, now mentally deranged, being a Caucasian. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 as secretary to the Persian Consulate at Tiflis. Secretary at the Persian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1908. Joined the gendarmerie in 1911; and has been in the army since then. Commanded the crack cavalry "Pahlevi" Regiment in 1931. Has served as military attaché in London for a short time, and has been a prominent officer in the new army. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in 1934. In 1935 on the General Staff, in charge of a training school. Persian delegate to the Zahidan Conference in 1935, where, no doubt under strict orders, he took an extremely nationalistic and anti-British standpoint.

Officially attended Ataturk's funeral in 1938. Promoted Brigadier-General April 1939. Inspector of Cavalry 1942. Commanding the 1st Division 1943.

Speaks French, English, Turkish, and Russian. His anti-British utterances were no doubt a measure of prudence, as he is married to an Englishwoman, *née* Bewicke.

Appointed Chief of the General Staff, December 1945. Worked hard to resist "Tudeh" activities and had some success in organising resistance to the Azerbaijan Democrats and their independent Government in Tabriz. In consequence he incurred enmity of the pro-Russian groups and when Qavam took office in February 1946 with the task of restoring good relations with Russia, Arfa was at once relieved of his post. Arrested April 1946 by order of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released October 1946.

18. As'Ad, Muhammad Taqi (Amir-i-Jang).

Born about 1906, son of the late Sardar As'ad: a Bakhtiari Khan imprisoned with other tribal leaders under Reza Shah, released in September 1941. Owns properties near Dizful from where he was elected Deputy for the 14th Majlis. Was from the beginning one of the most loyal supporters of Sayyid Zia. Claims to have influence over Kurds because he had been sympathetic to Kurdish and other tribal leaders when in prison with them. Extremely friendly to the British.

Honest, patriotic and much opposed to the spread of Soviet influence.

19. Asadi, Salman.

The eldest son of the late Mohammad Vali Asadi, mutawalli of the shrine at Meshed, who was shot for treason in 1935. Born about 1896. Educated at the American College, Tehran; spent a few years also at Cambridge and in London; speaks English. Owing to his father's influence elected to the Majlis as member for Seistan for the seventh and eighth sessions.

Served for a short time in the News Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as a translator. In charge of the Department of Propaganda 1941 to March 1942. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Food 1942 and worked hard to ensure the food supply of Tehran with Mr. Sheridan in the famine winter of 1942-43. Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance and Head of the Rice Monopoly April 1944. Member of Economic Section of Qavam's Mission to Moscow, February 1946. Appointed chairman of the Industrial Bank October 1946.

Pleasant, well read and intelligent; but a bit of an intriguer and rather lazy. Not discreet, somewhat given to mis-statement and flattery, and unstable.

20. A'Azam-Zanganeh, Dr. Abdul Hamid

Born at Kermanshah about 1899, of a well-known family; his half-brother being Amir-i-Kull. Educated at Tehran in the Law School and the Political School. Went to Paris 1929 and obtained a doctorate in law and economics, his thesis being on oil; has also been in England. 1935 returned to Persia and was employed in the Ministry of Education; professor in the Law School. Also a pleader in the Court, mostly in mortgage-bank business and agricultural cases. Co-editor with Dr. Suratgar of the newspaper *Iran Javan*.

A small and quiet-spoken man; makes a good impression and seems intelligent.

Deputy for the 14th Majlis for Kermanshah; he seems to regard himself as elected by the personal order of the Shah.

21. Azudi, Yadullah (Amir A'zam)

Born in Tehran about 1890. The son of the late Nusratullah Mirza, and a grandson of Vajihullah Mirza Sepahsalar who was the grandson of Fath Ali Shah. Inherited large estates from his father, all of which were situated in the neighbourhood of Damghan and Shahrud. Educated in Persia; has spent some years in Europe. Married first a daughter of Hasan Pirnia (Mushir-ed-Douleh), who died a few years later; he then married a daughter of Vossugh-ed-Douleh (Hasan Vossugh).

Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1920. First secretary of the Persian Legation at Berlin in 1928, and for some time was Chargé d'Affaires there. Chief de Personnel at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1929-30. Counsellor at Washington 1931, and acted as Chargé d'Affaires there. Minister at Warsaw in March 1933; but recalled to Tehran as the result of some scandal dating from his Washington days the following December. Chief of the Passport Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, August 1935 (now known as the Consular Department). Administrative Director-General of the Ministry, March 1937, until November 1937. Minister of Roads under Qavam-es-Saltaneh 1942, and did well in that post. Resigned early in 1943 partly owing to accusations of nepotism; appointed Minister to Brazil, and proceeded thither July 1943.

Speaks French and German, and usually very helpful and forthcoming.

22. Bader, Mahmud

Younger brother of Abdul Wahhab Bader. Born in 1893. Educated in England. Has been in the service of the Ministry of Finance since 1910. Assistant to the Accountant-General at the Ministry of Finance for a number of years. Chief Accountant of the Ministry of Public Works October 1928. In the same capacity in the Ministry of Roads and Communications 1930. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance 1933. President of the Iranian Economic Mission to Germany in July 1935. Succeeded Abolghassem Ferouhar as Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Finance in April 1936. Appointed Acting Minister of Finance on the death of Davar in February 1937. Minister of Finance, September 1937 until October 1939, when superseded by General Amir Khosrovi, head of the National Bank, with whom he had carried on a long contest for control of the Government's financial operations. M. Bader was said to favour dealings with Germany.

Minister of Finance in Soheily's Cabinet 1942, and in that capacity showed himself helpful in smoothing over financial difficulties and in negotiating currency agreements. Minister of Industry in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943, but was not very successful in settling various wages disputes, and on Soheily's forming a new Cabinet in December 1943 he was not included in it.

Minister of Finance in Sadr's Cabinet, June-September, 1945. Capable and helpful but exposed himself to criticism for failing to suppress corruption and for introducing nepotism which, it was alleged, flourished in his Ministry on an excessive scale even by Persian standards.

23. Bahar (Malik-ush-Shuará)

Born in Meshed, 1882. Son of a well-known poet named Sabouri. A member of the old Democratic party, and edited a paper in Meshed called the *No-Bahár*. A member of the third, fourth and fifth Majlises from Meshed, and of the sixth from Tehran. Edited his paper *No-Bahár* in Tehran during the war of 1914-18, and was pronouncedly pro-German. Nevertheless, he supported Vossugh-ed-Douleh's Cabinet of 1918-20 during which time he edited the *Iran* newspaper. Opposed the Government during the term of the fifth Majlis and was an opponent of the change of régime. An attempt was made on his life when the debate on the change of régime took place in the Majlis; but another unfortunate man who resembled him was the victim. Seyyid Hasan Mudarris helped him to get elected to the sixth Majlis.

Nothing much was heard of him during Reza Shah's reign, except that he composed some odes in celebration of the Firdausi centenary in October 1934, and translated into Persian verse a poem by John Drinkwater on that occasion. He has been exiled from Tehran on more than one occasion.

In spite of a fondness for opium has been fairly active at Tehran since the change of régime in 1941. Up to August 1942 he and Massoud Sabeti actively supported Qavam-es-Saltaneh's candidature for the post of Prime Minister. After the latter's fall early in 1943, he obtained newsprint from the Russians with which he kept his paper *No-Bahár* going, and published a series of articles apparently critical of but really supporting Qavam. In fact a shifty and over-subtle politician.

Acknowledged to be a leading poet, and a practical newspaper writer. He himself maintains that he is above all anti-Russian but has been associated with the Tudeh for some years. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1944.

Minister of Education in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946, dropped when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946.

24. Bahrami, Farajullah (Dabir-i-A'zam)

Born about 1890. A member of a well-known and numerous Tehran family. Munshi or secretary to Reza Shah before and after his accession to the throne in 1925. Was appointed member of a commission of examination in connexion with the Lionosoff Caspian Fishery claim, but resigned from that position.

Lost the Shah's full confidence in about 1927, and was sent abroad to take charge of the Persian students in Europe, at Paris, Berlin, &c. Returned to Persia about two years later. In July 1930 appointed Governor of Isfahan, and a year later Governor-General of Fars. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in March 1932. Resigned on the fall of the Hedayat Cabinet in September 1933, and was

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sent to Meshed as Governor-General in the following January. Superseded as Governor-General of Khorasan in October 1934, for reporting that adequate facilities did not exist at Meshed for the accommodation of the orientalists attending the Ferdousi millenary. Since that time under a cloud. In the summer of 1935 he was suspected of complicity in some plot and was exiled to Malayir. Allowed to return to Tehran under surveillance, October 1936.

After the change of régime in 1941 he has been a prominent member of the Adalat party. Minister of the Interior in January 1943, but he very soon became involved in a quarrel with his chief, Qavam-es-Saltaneh, which led to the collapse of the latter's Cabinet. His criticisms of his chief in that episode did not create a good impression on this Legation; he is evidently self-opinionated and stubborn. Is very alarmed at the Soviet menace to the independence of Persia. Governor-General of Isfahan, 1943-44.

A very friendly person, who always appears to do what he can to help British consular officers. Has great aspirations to literary eminence; a great admirer of Hafiz. As Minister he incurred some criticism from his fellow-countrymen for inaccessibility and lack of hospitality. Speaks very little French. Businesslike and hard-working.

25. Bahrami, Fazlullah

Born about 1897. For some time a colonel in the police, and in charge of the detective force. Acting chief of the Tehran Municipality in 1937. Director of Census and Civil Status, January 1938.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Soheily's Cabinet of 1942 and filled that post adequately. Head of the municipality again July 1943; suspended from his functions during the Tehran elections at the end of 1943 owing to accusations of illegal intervention in the elections, but resumed his functions January 1944.

A large individual with some energy; but he seems to have made a good deal of money by dubious land transactions when head of the municipality. Obstinate like all the Bahrami family.

Governor-General of Kerman 1944-45 where he showed great initiative by organising various schemes for improving water supply, raising money for orphanages, &c.—popular there. Offered post of Governor-General, Kermanshah, in August 1945, but refused. Health undermined by malaria. Friendly and co-operative when in Kerman. Normally reserved and placid but clever and not easily taken in.

26. Bakhtiari, Murteza Quli Samsam

The son of the famous Samsam-us-Saltaneh. Born probably about 1875. Took part in operations against Salar-ud-Douleh in 1911. Represented the Bakhtiari tribe in the Majlis in the same year, and appointed Ilbeggi of the tribe in 1912. Governor of Yezd in 1914. Helped the Germans during the war 1914-18. Made his peace with the British Legation after the war. Has held the appointment of Ilbeggi or Ilkhani of the tribe on several occasions. Was with the tribe when most of the Bakhtiari Khans were arrested in December 1933; he then had the appointment of Ilkhani. He escaped the fate of his fellow khans, and has assisted the Government in their policy of inducing the Bakhtiari tribe to abandon their traditional nomadic habits. Appointed Governor of Bakhtiari early in 1943 and did well, suppressing various upstarts like Abol Ghassem and establishing order in that tribal area, thereby serving British interests well during the war. By the end of 1945 he had, however, become unpopular

with the other tribal khans who agitated for his removal. Relieved of his appointment by Qavam-us-Saltaneh for leaving Tehran for his properties in the south despite explicit instructions not to do so until he had reached agreement with the other khans. Arrested in September 1946 for complicity in joint Bakhtiari-Qashqai rising. Released December.

A clever man, not above intrigue. Quick-tempered, jovial and obstinate. Served Reza Shah well. Very pleasant to meet, but not the sort of man one can trust very far, as he is very much in the hands of his strong-minded wife and also places implicit trust in a worthless agent, Misbah Fatemi.

27. Bayandur, Ghulam Husain, Captain (Nakhuda-yekum)

Elder brother of Ghulam Ali Bayandor. Was a captain in the army until 1930, when he went to Italy on a course of naval engineering. Returned in 1934, and was appointed engineer officer of the southern naval force. Promoted major in 1935. Port officer of Abadan and Khorramshahr in 1936. Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938.

Keenly interested in mercantile affairs, and helped to float the monopoly company for the landing of cargo in the port of Khorramshahr in 1937. Unpopular with his subordinates. Quick and hot-tempered, but less so than formerly. Uses his position for his financial advantage. Not very intelligent, but very hard-working. Speaks French and Italian. Does not appear to like the British.

Transferred to General Staff 1944.

28. Bayat, Murteza Quli (Saham es Sultan).

A landowner from Sultanabad, born about 1882. Owns considerable property. Member of the Majlis on several occasions, and Minister of Finance 1926-27. Deputy Speaker of the tenth Majlis. Member of the Adalat party 1942. Accused of hoarding wheat during the winter of 1942-43. Minister of Finance in Soheily's Cabinet 1943 and performed the useful function of effacing himself completely in favour of Dr. Millspaugh. Not included in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943.

Speaks a little French. A highly respectable and polite man. Minister without Portfolio in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Prime Minister November 1944-April 1945. He sought to improve relations with the Russians but his efforts only resulted in the paralysis of the administration of the country. Sent as Governor-General to Tabriz in December 1945 but failed to do anything to check the Azerbaijan independence movement and soon returned to Tehran. Joined Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946 as Minister of Finance, but was not included when Cabinet was re-formed in August 1946.

29. Bushihri-Dehdasti, Agha Jasad (Amir Humayun).

Born in Tehran 1898. Second son of the late Haji Muin-ut-Tujjar. Educated at Tehran and in Europe. Speaks French and English. Married a daughter of the late Haji Amin-uz-Zarb. Elected a member of the seventh Majlis. More interested in politics than his elder brother Agha Riza. Fond of pomp, and very extravagant in his manner of living. Nicknamed by some of his friends "Prince Merchant."

Was in Hamburg at the outbreak of the war in 1939, and spent some time in Germany thereafter. Finally got away to Stamboul in 1942 with the

help of Count Schulenburg and returned to Tehran March 1943. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad as a suspect in June 1943. Released May 1945. Appointed Governor-General of Fars October 1946 with approval of the Qashqais but only held the appointment for a few months.

A clever man who in the past has always maintained friendly relations with British officials.

30. Dadvar, Mehdi (Vussuq-es-Saltaneh)

Born about 1874. Entered the service of the Ministry of War when quite young. Chief of Accounts of the Mazandaran Regiments 1905. Joined the Nationalists and came to Tehran with the Nationalist forces. Chief of Accounts at the War Office 1909. Held this post for six years. Assistant Minister for War 1916 to 1918. Governor of Zanjan and Khamseh 1918. Minister for War during 1920. Governor of Gilan for a few months in 1922. Governor-General of Fars in 1924; and of Kerman 1925. Governor-General of Khorasan 1926-27. Elected a member of the eighth Majlis. Deputy Speaker of the ninth and tenth Majlis. In the eleventh he was (1939) only a member for Tehran.

Attached to one of the ephemeral parties in the Majlis in 1942-43, but having failed in his ambition to become once more Minister of War he is devoting some of his time to promoting trade with India.

Governor-General Tabriz, February 1944. Recalled February 1945. Friendly and pleasant in manner. When in Tabriz invariably took the line of least resistance and was regarded as nothing more than an amiable figurehead. Seemed to be completely amenable to the wishes of the Russians. A voluble talker but carries no weight.

31. Danishian, Ghulam Yahiya

Is about 45 years old and is believed to have been born in Russian territory. He speaks Russian well, having been educated in that country, and it is said that he served with the Russian army in the Caucasus for a short time.

In 1937 he came to Azerbaijan and settled in Sarab, a village about half way between Tabriz and Ardabil. Some time later he was arrested by the Persian authorities on the charge of being a Soviet agent, and was imprisoned in Tehran. On the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan he obtained his release and went to live in Tabriz.

On the formation of the Tudeh Party, Danishian lost no time in joining it, and he was given the task of organising a branch at Sarab, and later another at Mianeh. At the latter village he came into active conflict with the Kherieh Party, which was strongly opposed to the Tudeh, and in the course of a skirmish Danishian was wounded. This provoked the wrath of the Russian commander of troops in Azerbaijan, General Glinski, who, as a reprisal, cast several of the leading personalities in Mianeh into prison in Tabriz.

The formation of the Azerbaijan Democrat Party brought Danishian an appointment as Commander of Fida'is in Mianeh and Zenjan. The landlords in Mianeh district decided to leave for Tehran for security, and in their absence, Danishian looted their properties for his personal benefit with the result that he is now one of the wealthiest men in Azerbaijan.

Pishavari promoted Danishian to the rank of general on 5th April, 1946, his charge being the Fida'is in Sarab as well as in Mianeh and Zenjan. When the agreement was reached between Azerbaijan and the Central Government on 16th June, 1946, Danishian was promoted to be Commander-in-chief of the Fida'is and established himself in Tabriz. He made frequent tours of inspection of

Azerbaijan in connexion with his duties and is reputed to have enjoyed the confidence of the Russians to the same extent as Pishavari himself. Danishian is reputed to be possessed of exceptional courage and determination, and the Democrat Party, including Pishavari, fear and hate him. Flew to Russia in December 1947 when Persian troops occupied Azerbaijan.

32. Dashti, Ali

Born about 1887. Educated in the schools of the Holy Places of Iraq. Returned to Persia about 1922 and edited a paper called the *Shafaq Surkh*. As an editor he became notorious for slanderous abuse and the extortion of money by blackmail, and his abuse of Great Britain and British statesmen was frequently the subject of complaint from His Majesty's Legation to the Persian Government. He was elected a Deputy to the fifth Majlis in 1924, but he was refused a seat by the Parliamentary Commission, whose duty it was to scrutinise his election proceedings. He was prominent in the abortive Republican movement in 1924, and is said to have received and pocketed large sums from Reza Pahlavi, on whose behalf he worked. After acquiring a share of this world's goods he appeared to become more human and ceased the abuse and vituperation for which he had become famous. He espoused the cause of Reza Pahlavi against Ahmed Shah, and was elected a Deputy to the sixth Majlis in 1926. He was invited to Moscow in October 1927 to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet régime. From Moscow he went to Berlin and Paris and returned to Persia early in 1928. He was elected a Deputy to the seventh Majlis in 1928 and to the eighth Majlis in 1930.

Edited or controlled his paper till about July 1935, receiving subsidies now from the Shah and now from the Soviet Embassy. He is a hot-headed firebrand with no scruples and no principles, and is capable of the basest villainy if it will help him to attain his ends. He speaks no European language, except a little French.

In July 1935 he fell into disgrace and was said to have uttered disparaging remarks about Reza Shah's régime. His paper was suppressed and he himself was allowed to plead sickness and to retire to a Government hospital, where he was made to pay well for his maintenance.

At liberty again at the end of 1936. In charge of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Interior in 1937.

Since the fall of Reza has returned to the forefront of Tehran politics. A severe critic of Ferrouhi and Soheily in 1942, he worked hard for the return of Qavam-us-Saltaneh as Prime Minister. When the latter came back to power and did not make Dashti a Minister, he turned against him and criticised him in many speeches. Dashti is certainly a persuasive orator, who holds the attention of the Majlis as few other persons can do. A prime mover in the Adalat party, he now utters the most enthusiastic praise of democracy on the British model, and evidently hopes that his past will be forgotten by us. As he appears to have much more audacity and forensic ability than most of his rivals, he may well go a good deal further than his present position as a Majlis Deputy. Elected to fourteenth Majlis 1943.

Since the oil crisis of 1944 he has opposed the spread of Russian influence in Persia, and has strongly supported the "resistance" Cabinets preceding Qavam-us-Saltaneh's. Was consistently attacked by Tudeh press during this period. Trusted little even by his friends who regard him

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excessive attachment to women (which he publicly displays) as not in keeping with high office. Arrested May 1946. Released December 1946.

33. Fahimi, Khalil (Fahim-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1885. Related to the Mukhbir-ud-Douleh (Hedayat) family.

Employed in various posts in the Foreign Office early in his career. Minister of Finance in June 1922. Appointed Governor-General of Kerman in October 1925, but did not proceed. Member of the Majlis for Quchan on several occasions. *Rapporteur* of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. Supported, by a speech in the Majlis, the cancellation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in February 1934. Ambassador to Turkey, May 1936. Recalled, November 1939.

Prominent member of the Society of Supporters of the League of Nations, founded in December 1933. Governor-General at Tabriz, 1941, after the fall of Reza. Did not display much energy in dealing with a difficult and delicate situation. Recalled to Tehran at the end of 1942. Minister without portfolio in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943. Minister without portfolio August 1944-April 1945. Minister of Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945, but was forced by the Prime Minister to resign at the end of December. Speaks French. Very agreeable and reasonable in conversation.

34. Farhudi, Dr. Hussein

Born about 1899. Son-in-law of Wahid-ul-Mulk Sahibani. Educated in Tehran. Served in various capacities in the Ministry of Education, at Tehran and in the provinces. Has also done newspaper work. One of the Directors-General of the Ministry, 1943. Successful candidate for Dasht-i-Mishun and Susangird in the fourteenth Majlis, 1943, though he had little connexion previously with that district beyond having been representative of the Ministry of Education in Ahwaz about 1933. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh, December 1946. Released January 1947.

35. Farrukh, Mehdi (Mu'tasim - us - Saltaneh).

A Seyyid. Born about 1887. Was for some years in the employ of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and head of the 2nd Political Department, dealing with eastern countries. Minister at Kabul in 1927-28. Subsequently Director-General of Industry. Governor of Western Azerbaijan, February 1936. Again Director-General of Industry and Mines, September 1937, and shortly afterwards raised to the newly-created appointment of Minister of Industry and Mines. Removed from this post without explanation, March 1938.

Governor-General of Fars 1940, and of Kerman in 1941. Minister of the Interior of Soheily's Cabinet, July 1942, and in spite of Majlis opposition maintained his place in the Cabinet. Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in August, made him Minister of Food, in which post he displayed a sort of crazy activity which irritated many and did not achieve much. Having fallen out with the American adviser Sheridan, he left the Ministry of Food on the fall of the Qavam Cabinet in February 1943. Elected a Deputy for Zabul in the fourteenth Majlis, November 1943.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars, December 1945, but was recalled in February 1946.

36. Farzaneh, Hassan

Born about 1892. Educated at Tehran and in France. Was in the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for about twelve years, during which he acted as *Chargé d'Affaires* for Moscow and Rome in 1924 and 1929. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior in 1935, and appointed Governor of Khorramshahr in February 1936. Assumed charge of the Governorates of Khorramshahr and Abadan in October 1936. Employed in Ministry of Interior 1942. Head of Political Department 1943. Appointed Director-General of the Ministry of the Interior, December 1943. Governor-General of Gilan in November 1944 but recalled a year later as being too subservient to the Russians. Special Inspector, Ministry of Interior, April 1946.

Speaks French, a fair amount of English and a little Russian. Well educated and polished, keenly interested in westernisation.

37. Fatih, Mahmud

Brother of Mustafa Fatih. Born about 1900 at Isfahan and educated at Tehran and at Montpellier. Trained in agriculture and husbandry. In charge of the Karaj agricultural school for some years. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture 1943. Has planned a model village at Veramine, of which he is very proud. Minister of Agriculture in Sa'id's Cabinet, March 1944, but only retained office for a few days.

Helpful and business-like, though inclined to be too optimistic and to imagine that all Persia's agricultural difficulties can be solved by tractors.

38. Fatih, Mustafa

Born in Isfahan about 1897. Son of Fatih-ul-Mulk, a servant of the Prince-Governor of Isfahan, Zill-us-Sultan. Educated at Tehran and at Columbia University, United States, where he graduated in economics. Entered the Anglo-Persian Oil Company about 1922 and is the senior Persian official in that company at Tehran, drawing a large salary. Author of a book on the economic condition of Persia, published in 1926. Appointed deputy general manager of A.I.O.C. at Abadan in February 1947.

Has a son in England and a daughter married to Asghar Mirza, the son of Sarem-ud-Douleh. His wife was daughter of the Zill-us-Sultan's head secretary, Siraj-ul-Mulk.

Has a perfect command of English and is keenly interested in Persian politics. He also has an international outlook and a considerable knowledge of world politics, particularly those of the Left. Intelligent, friendly and very approachable. Is a mine of information about the foibles of his own countrymen.

39. Fatimi, Mehdi (Imad-us-Saltaneh)

Born about 1886. Has had an official career in the Ministry of Finance and in 1918 was financial representative in his native city of Isfahan, where he is influential both through his own family and through that of his wife, who is a daughter of the late Prince Zill-es-Sultan. Appointed Deputy-Governor of Fars in 1922-23. Elected a Deputy from Isfahan in the fifth and sixth terms of the Majlis. Appointed Minister of Education in August 1925. Minister of Justice in December 1925 and Minister of Interior February to May 1927.

As a Minister and a Deputy he was uniformly popular and successful. In 1928 he fell out with the Minister of Court and was not allowed to be elected to the seventh term of the Majlis. Elected a Deputy to the Eighth Majlis 1930. Governor of Gilan from December 1933 until October 1937.

Head of the Municipality of Tehran under Sulaili's Cabinet February 1943. Resigned 1943 and elected Deputy for Nain 1943. One of the leaders of the Ittihad-i-Milli group in the fourteenth Majlis which contained about twenty Right-wing members. He speaks no European language except a little French.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars in March 1946. Recalled during the Qashqai revolt in autumn but reappointed February 1947. Recalled May 1947.

40. Fatimi Saifpur

Born about 1905, one of three brothers, a Naini family which claims relationship with Mehdi Fatemy (Imad-us-Saltaneh), though the latter denies it. Educated at the Stuart Memorial College, Isfahan, where he became a baptised Christian; but he made away with some of the mission funds and the mission do not forgive him. He and another, named Hussein Saadat, wrote a book against Islam. In order to marry his present wife, who is well off, became a Bahai.

Farmandar (Governor) of Shiraz 1941-43; then resigned, apparently because he had amassed too much money there. His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, considered him energetic, helpful and capable. Then returned to Isfahan as candidate for the Majlis for Najafabad, and though he had little real following in that area success was engineered for him by Morteza Quli Bakhtiari and Sarem ud Douleh. Intelligent, entirely unscrupulous, and very ambitious; speaks good English and has studied English and English literature, and can remember many extracts. At present (1944) it suits him to appear pro-British; he is certainly anti-Russian. Has many enemies, both Persian and British, but is a man who can, when he wishes, make himself very useful. Was largely responsible for organising the anti-Tudeh Workers' Union in Isfahan.

Before Qavam came into power in 1946, he pretended to be passionately opposed to him (a ruse enacted to please the British). In fact he almost certainly supported him as was shown by an article appearing in his brother's paper *Bakhtar* on the day that Qavam was elected.

After the demise of the 14th Majlis he went on a visit to the United States.

41. Fidakar, Taqi

Born about 1905, in Isfahan, of humble origin. Educated at the Saremieh school at Isfahan. As a boy he got into trouble for socialistic beliefs. Trained as a lawyer. Worked for a time in the Soviet Consulate-General at Isfahan in connexion with the sale of Soviet textiles in Isfahan. From 1940 onwards has devoted most of his energies to bettering the lot of the Isfahan factory workers and has done much to help them, as he has become the chief workers' representative in disputes about conditions of work. Founded a primitive sort of trade union for the protection of workers' interests, including insurance. Elected to the fourteenth Majlis for Isfahan 1943, being supported by the Tudeh party, of which he is a member, though he disclaims being a Communist and is not looked upon favourably by the Tudeh party in Tehran owing to his moderate views. He is thought not to have had any direct relations with the Soviet authorities concerning the elections. He is, of course, disliked by most of the capitalists of Isfahan, though some of them accept him as a fairly single-minded man. His main political following is among the factory workers and guilds and small bazaar men, who are naturally opposed to domination by the few rich families of Isfahan.

Lost his political following among the factory workers of Isfahan during 1944-45 when the Isfahan workers' union broke away from the Tudeh. On coming to Tehran as a Deputy he immediately fell under Soviet influence.

In April 1946 succeeded in re-establishing Tudeh influence in the Isfahan factories.

42. Firuz, Muhammad Hussein

Born about 1895. The fourth son of the late Farman Farma. Educated at the military college at Petrograd. Entered the Persian army during the 1914-18 war, and was regarded as one of the promising young officers of the army. Appointed Chief of Staff of the Southern Division in 1925, and did very good work in organising the troops in Fars and enforcing discipline and efficiency. Sent to Delhi as representative of the Persian army at the Indian army manoeuvres early in 1925. Fell under suspicion for some reason about 1929 and resigned his commission. His Qajar origin was no doubt the cause of his collapse. Very attached to his brother Firuz (Nusrat-ed-Douleh) but not on good terms with his father. Married a Miss Namazi, who was educated in Hong Kong and speaks English perfectly.

Returned to Persia late in 1941, and was sent to Fars as G.O.C. and Governor-General in March 1942. Superseded in both appointments by Marshal Shahbakhhti a year later. He had succeeded in keeping a rather precarious order in Fars, but never succeeded in repressing Nasir Qashqai's rebellious movement. Head of the air force, 1943. Again appointed Governor-General of Fars in early summer of 1944 but did not get on with the influential Qavam-ul-Mulk or the Qashqai Khans. His enemies accused him of weakness and of truckling too much to the Tudeh, but His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, on the contrary, considered that his refusal to take unnecessarily repressive measures against the Tudeh was more sound. Appointed Minister of War in Sa'id's reconstituted Cabinet in August 1944 but refused the appointment. Minister of Communications in Hakimi's Cabinet November 1945. Resigned a month later. Returned to the same Ministry in Qavam's Cabinet in February 1946, but was left out when Qavam re-formed his Cabinet in October 1946. Appointed Inspector-General, Persian Air Force, March 1947.

Speaks very good French and some English; intelligent and enlightened. A brilliant talker, he seems capable of proving with most convincing reasons that he is always right—but one feels sometimes that he is too convincing.

43. Firuz, Muhammad Vali Mirza (Farmanfarmaiyan)

Third son of the late Farman Farma. Born about 1893. Educated at Beirut and Paris. Sent to Tabriz as head of the Finance Department, 1915. Said to have taken many bribes while in that appointment. Is very thrifty and has large properties both in Tehran and Tabriz. Elected a Deputy to the fourth, fifth and sixth Majlises for Tabriz. On the fall of his brother, Nusrat-ed-Douleh, in 1931, he retired from public life and was seldom seen. Has been in Europe a good deal.

Elected to the thirteenth Majlis for Sarab in September 1941, and again to the fourteenth in November 1943. His appearance being that of an underfed bird of prey, seems to keep him in the background, but he has a good deal of his father's intelligence. Became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in October 1946 but resigned in December to stand as a candidate for the fifteenth Majlis. Went to Switzerland February 1947.

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44. Firuz, Muzaffar

Born about 1910, grandson of Farman Farma, brother of Muhammad Shah, and accordingly uses the title of Prince in social life. Educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Speaks excellent English and fair French: is bitterly hostile to the Pahlavi dynasty and his sole *raison d'être* is to avenge the murder of his father by Riza Shah. His hostility has recently been sharpened by the fact that his wife's relation, Ismit-ul-Muluk, one of the wives of Reza Shah, was recently evicted from the palace on a charge of improper behaviour. At one time employed in Persian Legation in Washington, whence, it is believed, he was removed at the request of the United States Government for abuse of diplomatic bag privileges.

It was Firuz who went to Palestine and brought from there Zayyid Zia's first manifesto. He remained an ardent supporter of Sayyid Zia until May 1945 when he broke with him. He says that the breach was caused by Sayyid Zia's becoming more and more dictatorial, but Sayyid Zia's version was that they had to part because Firuz would not abandon his newspaper campaign, in the newspaper *Ra'd-i-Imruz* which he owns and edits, against the Shah, and Sayyid Zia felt that it was impossible to fight the Russians and the Shah at the same time. Towards the end of 1945 he became one of the chief supporters of Qavam-ul-Saltaneh. As a reward for this, Qavam, when he became Prime Minister in February 1946, appointed Firuz Political Under-Secretary, an office apparently created for the purpose, and Director of Propaganda. He became Minister of Labour and Propaganda in August 1946, but was dropped when Qavam-ul-Saltaneh reformed his Cabinet in October 1946 and sent to Moscow as ambassador. He has a bent for propaganda and sensational journalism and has succeeded in making himself extremely unpopular even with his colleagues. His madness is enhanced by a titanic conceit but not by conspicuous courage.

Rash, unbalanced, dishonest, untruthful and malicious, would probably sacrifice anything to bring about the downfall of the Shah.

45. Furuhar, Abbas

Born about 1895. Though his junior in age, is an uncle of Abul-Qasim Ferouhar. Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1934, and acted as head of that department in 1935 and part of 1936. Head of the Personnel Department, July 1936 to April 1937. Counsellor, Angora, until September 1938. Head of the Protocol Department, September 1938.

Speaks French. Married in 1939 a daughter of Muhammad Ali Muqaddam. Polite, friendly and well-meaning, but the head of the Protocol Department under Reza Shah had a thankless task. Nevertheless, M. Ferouhar, unlike his colleagues at the Court, survived the ordeal of the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations.

Sent to Beirut with the vague title of "Délégué" at the end of 1942. Recalled temporarily in 1943 to give explanations about the conduct of Muzaffar Firuz. *Chargé d'Affaires* to Greek Court in Cairo, June 1944. Minister to Yugoslavia April 1946.

A talkative but somewhat too oily little man.

46. Furuhar, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1883. A grandson of Mirza Abbas Khan Qavam-ed-Douleh, who was Minister of Finance for some years. Educated in Tehran and Switzerland; studied law. A judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1915-21. Chief of Construction at the Tehran Municipality 1921-24. President of the Tribunal 1926-27.

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Assistant Director of the Registration Department in the Ministry of the Interior 1927-28. Judge in the Appeal Court in 1929. Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Finance under his great friend Davar October 1933. Accompanied the Shah on his State visit to Turkey in June 1934. Minister to France June 1936; but recalled in January owing to an anti-Persian press campaign in some French newspapers. Acting Minister of Interior, July, and Minister, September 1937. Minister of Industry and Mines, March 1938. Minister of Interior, August 1938 to February 1939, when superseded for no stated reason. A Deputy for Tehran in the twelfth Majlis, October 1939, and in the thirteenth Majlis, 1941. Appears to have lost some of his energy, being unwilling to become Minister of the Interior to run the elections in 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and later Minister of Finance in Sa'id's Cabinet, March-August 1944. Married to a Bulgarian lady.

47. Furuhar, Ghulam Husain

Born in 1903. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran and at Berlin University where he studied economics and law. Entered the Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were cut he acted as Economic Counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946 and was appointed Director-General of the Taxation Department of the Ministry of Finance. Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet December 1946.

Speaks fluent French and German. He is intelligent and agreeable but, politically, he does not carry much weight.

48. Ghaffari, Amir Saham ud Din (Zaka-ud-Dauleh).

Born in Tehran about 1880. The second son of the late Muhandis-ul-Mamalik. Educated in Persia and Germany. On the staff of the Ministry of Education 1914-18. First Persian representative to League of Nations. Appointed Persian Minister in Berne 1919-22. Did not venture to return to Persia till the Pahlavi régime was well established in 1931. A chamberlain to Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah and Ahmed Shah. Employed in the Ministry of Education 1934, as a professor of economics. Imprisoned 1939 by order of Reza Shah, on an accusation of having expressed doubts whether the trans-Iranian railway would pay. Sentenced to two years' imprisonment, but kept in prison when his term had been served. Finally obtained release on the fall of Reza Shah in 1941. Director of the Propaganda Section in 1942 and 1943 though he was not very effective in that post and was relieved of his duties early in 1943. Advocated propaganda in favour of religion in order to keep men's minds away from communism.

Minister for Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946. Left out when the Cabinet was re-formed in August.

Speaks French, German and some English. A very voluble, persistent, tedious little man, with a great idea of his own importance and infallibility. Has a large family of daughters.

49. Ghani, Qasim

Born about 1894 at Sabzevar. Sent to Tehran for education by his uncle, Agha Khazra'i, and studied in the Bahai "Tarbiat" school for four

years. Then went to Beirut where he qualified as a doctor after a course lasting about seven years. On return to Tehran stayed a short time and then went back to his native town and practised medicine, founding a hospital and doing many good works. Then went to Meshed, where he married a rich wife. A great student of Persian literature. Elected as a Deputy for Meshed in the 13th Majlis. Minister of Health in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Health in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Farhangistan or Academy.

A cultured and widely-read man, reputed to be a Bahai, but that is doubtful. Author of a history of Sufism. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. September 1946.

50. Hajir, Abdul Husain

Born about 1895. The son of one of the "Fida'is" of the early days of the Constitution, who served under Taqizadeh.

In 1930 served under Taqizadeh in the Ministry of Roads and Communications; and in the following year followed that Minister to the Ministry of Finance. Government inspector of the National Bank. A favourite of Davar's, he was given various lucrative posts by him, including the management of the Cloth Monopoly ("Shirkat-i-Qumash") and, most important of all, the direction of the Exchange Control Commission. Relinquished his post at the Exchange Control Commission in the summer of 1937 to proceed to Europe as part of a commission to purchase stocks for the Cloth Monopoly. Head of the Industrial and Agricultural Bank August 1938. Minister of Commerce and Industry March 1942 and Minister of Roads and Communications in Sulaili's Cabinet of February 1943. Showed commendable energy in inspecting communications in person.

Went to England to study transport conditions in June 1943 and was still away at the end of the year; meanwhile in December 1943, on the Cabinet being reshuffled he became Minister of the Interior. Again Minister of the Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of March 1944, but was dropped when there was a reshuffle of the Cabinet in August 1944. Minister of Finance in Hakimi's Cabinets of May and of November 1945. Again Minister of Finance in Qavam's re-formed Cabinet of August 1946.

A man of conspicuous ability and intelligence. In his early days he was an interpreter and munshi at the Russian Consulate-General. Speaks French, Russian and English; very talkative but has many sound ideas and a shrewd knowledge of his countrymen. Is unmarried.

51. Hakimi, Ibrahim (Hakim-ul-Mulk)

Born in Azerbaijan 1870: studied medicine in France for ten years; speaks French. Was Qajar Court Physician as was his father. Deputy in the first Majlis 1908. Minister of Finance 1910. Minister of Education 1910, 1911. Minister of Finance 1911. Minister of Finance or Education several times up to 1918. Minister of Education 1920. Lived in retirement throughout Reza Shah's reign. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinets August 1942 and February 1943. Associated with Qavam-ul-Mulk in his pro-German intrigues before the invasion. Member of the National Bank Advisory Council in 1943, 1944 and 1945. Was considered an ancient nonentity, deaf and infirm, but in May 1945 was appointed Prime Minister because all other candidates were opposed by one or other faction in the Majlis. His Cabinet failed to obtain a vote of confidence and resigned a month later. He again became Prime Minister in November 1945 and did his best

to deal with the Russian-inspired independence movement in Azerbaijan and had courage enough to refer to the Security Council of U.N.O. the situation created by the Russian refusal to allow the Persian Government to send troops to Tabriz.

In December 1945 wished to go to Moscow for direct negotiations with the Russians but his request was turned down. Exhausted by his efforts and intimidated by the growing hostility of the Shah and the factions in the Majlis, he resigned in January 1946.

A respectable old man of rather weak character.

52. Hidayat, Abdullah, Major-General (Sarlashgar)

Born about 1902, the son of Mukhbir-ud-Douleh (Ghulam Reza Kemal-Hidayat), and so member of a family that has usually been pro-British. Brigadier Hidayat is outwardly friendly; and is intelligent and ambitious but something of an intriguer. Trained at the French Ecole de Guerre, and also at Fontainebleau. Head of the Third Bureau, General Staff, February 1941; at the Staff College, November 1941; Deputy Chief of the General Staff, May 1942; Commandant of the Officers' School, November 1942. Under-Secretary Ministry of War, April 1944. Acting Minister of War, September 1944. Director of Artillery, November 1945. Under-Secretary of War, February 1946. While still retaining this post he left for the United States in March 1947 to negotiate purchases of military supplies under a proposed loan to the Government for this purpose.

A well-qualified serious officer, more staff officer than a commander. Has a good reputation for honesty. When with the General Staff supported Yazdan-Panah in his opposition to a foreign military mission. Belongs to the military clique headed by his friend Razmara. Speaks good French and some English.

53. Hidayat, Izzatullah

Son of the late Sani-ed-Douleh, who was murdered in Tehran during the Constitutional troubles about 1908. Born about 1895. Educated as a civil engineer in Germany. Member of the staff of the Legation at Berlin 1920-23. On the staff of the Ministry of Public Works 1925. Appointed Chief of Railway Construction about that time. Interested in various engineering projects in Tehran, and in a spinning factory. Director of the port of Pahlavi 1930. Arrested and tried for complicity in the irregularities in the Ministry of Roads and Communications, February 1936; sentenced in the autumn to six months' imprisonment and a fine.

Intelligent, and of charming manners. Speaks French and German. His mother was a daughter of Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah. Exonerated after the fall of Reza Shah, but not re-employed in Government service. In 1943 engaged in contracting work. Appointed Inspector of Railways, August 1945.

54. Hikmat, Ali Asghar

Born about 1894. A member of a Shiraz family and cousin to Mushar-ud-Douleh (Mirza Nizam-ud-Din Khan Hikmat) and Sardar Fakhr (Mirza Reza Khan Hikmat). Educated in the Church Missionary Society School at Shiraz 1908-09. Well read in Arabic. Went to Tehran in 1914, where he entered the American College, graduating in 1917. Joined the Ministry of Public Instruction as an inspector. Appointed Director of Education for Fars about 1920, but kept out of the position owing to intrigues. Candidate for Parliament (the fifth Majlis) in 1923, for Shiraz and also for Jahrum,

but was not successful. Employed in the Ministry of Education until about 1930, when he went abroad to Paris to study law. Said to have done well in his examinations. Returned to Tehran in September 1933, to take charge of the Ministry of Education as acting Minister. Raised to the rank of Minister in February 1936. Dismissed, July 1938, owing to the Shah's displeasure about a telegram connected with the Paris Exhibition, but restored to favour as Minister of the Interior, February 1939. Resigned March 1940. Was proposed for Minister, Berlin, but the German Government hesitated about his agreement. When it did come the Shah decided to re-employ him as Minister of the Interior instead, but dismissed him in June 1940.

Minister of Industry and Commerce in Feroughi's Cabinet in 1941, and had a good deal to do with the negotiations about the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Health, March 1942. Minister of Justice in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943, but resigned in July owing to differences of opinion with his chief. Headed cultural missions to India 1944 and again in 1947. Delegate to United Nations Education Conference 1945.

The author of some literary works, he spends some time instructing students in Persian literature at the university. Often accused of intriguing against Qavam-ul-Mulk, but such accusations have not been proved.

Speaks English and French well; always very helpful to us.

55. Hikmat Riza (Sardar Fakhr)

Born Shiraz about 1888. Cousin of Ali Asghar Hikmat. During the 1914-18 war was a determined enemy of Qavam-ul-Mulk and friendly with the Qashqais. Since that war settled down in Tehran and was employed in various Government appointments. Governor-General of Kerman 1940-41. Head of the Statistics and Civil Status Office 1942. Elected to the 14th Majlis 1944 for Shiraz. He still enjoys the support and friendship of the Qashqais. Appointed Governor-General, Kirman, June 1946. Is a member of Central Committee of Iran Democrat Party. Elected Deputy for Shiraz in 15th Majlis.

A corpulent and polite man, very hospitable, but a man of curious friends.

56. Humayunjah, Muhammad Ali

Born about 1888. A graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Judge of the Tribunal of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-25. Has held various clerical posts in the Ministry, culminating in that of head of the personnel section of the Ministry 1932-34. Sent as counsellor to Paris in 1935; a post to which he was singularly ill-fitted owing to his scanty knowledge of French.

For some obscure reason, said to be connected with seniority, was made Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in April 1942; in which post he maintains his reputation of benevolent and useless stupidity.

A corpulent individual showing few indications of intelligence; his appointment to a foreign post was looked upon as a very good joke in Tehran. Promoted to personal rank of Ambassador April 1946 and awarded Humayun Medal First Class. Became Minister for Foreign Affairs December 1946.

57. Hucanasiyan, Ardashiz

Born in Resht in 1905. Educated in the American school at Resht and in 1924 went to study at the Sociological College in Moscow. After his return from Moscow took up the cause of

the workers and was imprisoned in 1928 and again from 1931 to 1941. Is said to have carried on underground activity from prison. One of the founder members of the Tudeh party. Elected Deputy in the 14th Majlis for Armenians and Assyrians of Azerbaijan; his election was almost unanimous owing to Russian pressure. Gifted with a certain power of invective he writes occasionally for the Tudeh press and is a leading member of the Tudeh organising committee. Was on good terms with the autonomous "Government" of Azerbaijan. Speaks Turki, excellent Persian and Russian and some English, French and German.

58. *Ibtihaj, Abul-Hassan*

Second son of Ebtahaj-ul-Mulk, and brother of Ghulam Hussein Ebtahaj. Born at Resht about 1900. Interpreter to the British forces in Gilan towards the end of the war. Entered the service of the Imperial Bank of Persia at Resht about 1920. Did well there, and was transferred to Tehran 1925. Assistant to the chief inspector from then till he resigned in 1936.

Head of the Mortgage Bank 1939. Realised one of his ambitions when he became president of the National Bank of Iran (Banque Mellié) in September 1942. In that post he has worked hard and been of great service to us in many ways. He seems to be one of the few Persian financiers with intelligence, ability and energy. On the other hand he is hasty, hot-tempered and easily upset, and his persistence in an unwise legal attack on the Imperial Bank of Iran (a suit which he eventually lost) seems to show that he bears that institution a grudge. Pro-British and anti-Russian to such an extent that he is also regarded as a British agent by his numerous political rivals. Sayyid Zia and his supporters, however, were bitterly opposed to him on the Millsaugh issue. His attitude towards the latter was consistently obstructive. Delegate to Currency Conference in United States, June 1944. Delegate to Financial Conference, Cairo, 1944. Showed strong hostility to Dr. Millsaugh in 1944.

Married in 1926 Maryam, daughter of Taghi Nabari (Muazziz-ud-Douleh). Both he and his wife speak English, French and Russian well, and are very much in the confidence of the Shah and Princess Ashraf. No children.

59. *Ibtihaj, Ghulam Husain*

Born at Resht 1898. Eldest son of the late Ebtahaj-ul-Mulk, who was for years in charge of the Gilan estates of Fathullah Akbar. Educated at Resht and completed his studies at Beirut, and for a short time in France. Interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force 1918-20.

His father was assassinated by the Jungalis, and he, together with his family, fled to Tehran when the Bolsheviks occupied Gilan in 1920. Clerk in the Prime Minister's office 1920-21. Secretary to the Governor of Gilan 1921-22. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works and assistant to the American adviser, Colonel Morris 1923-28. Dismissed from that post, apparently for dishonesty. Joined the Ulen Company in 1929, when the latter had a contract to construct the railways in the south. Transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1931; first secretary in London April 1932. First secretary in Cairo March 1933. Suspended by the Ministry shortly after, apparently for conduct in London when the d'Arcy Concession was cancelled. In 1934 Chief of Personnel at the Ministry of the Interior; and then director of the Tourist Department and chief of the Touring Club of Iran. Went to Moscow in September 1936 to arrange the transfer of the Russian tourist organisa-

tion "Intourist" to his organisation, newly named "Iran-tour". Assistant to the Chief of the Tehran Municipality October 1937, but returned to the Ministry of Interior in 1938. Director of Administrative Services in the Ministry August 1938. Acting Chief of Tehran Municipality July 1939.

Incurred Reza Shah's displeasure and was relieved of his charge of the Municipality in September 1940. He then joined "Iran-tour" and also served on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Mixed Administration. Appointed Mayor of Tehran in 1944. A supporter of Sayyid Zia he was actively opposed to all Tudeh party influence in the Municipality. He thus incurred the hostility of all Left-wing elements and in December 1945, Hakim (then Prime Minister) dismissed him as a gesture of conciliation. In 1942 divorced his Persian wife and married a Polish refugee. In 1946 he became managing director of Iranian Airways.

Author of a widely used guide book to Iran. Speaks English, French and Russian. Clever, not to be trusted very far.

60. *Intizam, Nasrullah*

Born about 1899. Son of the late Entezam-us-Saltaneh, and nephew of Hassan Ali Ghaffari. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Secretary at Paris 1926. Secretary at Warsaw 1927-32. Secretary to the Persian delegates to the League of Nations during the Anglo-Persian Oil Company dispute in 1933. Member of the Persian delegation to the World Economic Conference 1933. Secretary at London May 1933. Transferred to Washington 1934. Has also served in the Treaty Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. First secretary at Berne 1936. "Délégué suppléant" at the League of Nations May 1938. Head of the Third Political Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (dealing *inter alia* with Great Britain), July 1938. Attended the Duke of Spoleto's wedding in Italy, June 1939.

Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1941. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the reconstruction of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet in February 1943, a post which he retained in the following Cabinet of Soheily. Minister of Communications and subsequently of Foreign Affairs in Bayat's Cabinet of November 1944. Resigned in April 1944. Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco. Persian Delegate to Executive Commission of U.N.O. in London with rank of ambassador. Member of Persian Delegation to U.N.O. January 1946 and again in September.

Quiet and attractive. Helpful and honest. Speaks French and English.

61. *Iqbal, Ali*

Born in Meshed about 1895. Son of a well-known landowner of Khorasan, with property at Kashmar and elsewhere in the province. Deputy in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Majlises. Never in Government service, but well acquainted with Khorasan politics. Aspired to becoming the mutawalli-bashi of the Meshed shrine 1943, but did not succeed owing to the opposition of the Governor-General. An enemy of Soheily, he was a professing supporter of Sayyid Zia-ud-Din when his fortunes were at their height.

62. *Iqbal, Manuchihr*

Younger brother of Ali Iqbal. Born at Meshed about 1898. Educated at Tehran at the medical school, and then in France, where he qualified as a doctor and received a medal for research. Returned to Persia in 1939 and was employed for some time in the Ministry of Public Health. Under-Secretary of the Ministry 1943, he ran the technical side of the

Ministry's work with success. Minister for Health August 1944 (Sa'id's Cabinet). Enjoys patronage of Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Minister for Health in Qavam's Cabinet February 1946.

Married to a Frenchwoman. Friendly and intelligent he is a good doctor but as a politician has a reputation for laxness.

63. *Isfandiari, Asadullah Yamin (Yamin-ul-Mamalik)*

Son of the late Yamin-ul-Mamalik and a nephew of Hassan Esfandiari. Born in Tehran 1885. Educated in Tehran and Tiflis. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1901; in 1908 had reached the rank of deputy chief of the Foreign Office Tribunal. Karguzar in Isfahan 1917. Governor of the Gulf Ports 1921-23. Consul-general at Baku 1924-29. Governor of Mazandaran 1930-32. Recalled from that post and under a cloud for some time. Director of the Tehran Telephone Company.

Deputy in the thirteenth Majlis 1941 to 1943. Is a director of most of the important companies of the capital, and finds time to look after the affairs of the Aero-Club as well. Has a typical capitalist and conservative outlook, but nevertheless spoke in the Majlis in favour of the factory workers at Isfahan.

Re-elected to the fourteenth Majlis for Babul.

64. *Isfandiari, Fathullah Nuri*

Second son of Hassan Esfandiari (Muhtashim-us-Saltaneh). Born about 1895. Educated in Switzerland and France. Second secretary of the Persian Legation in London 1914-24. Assistant chief of the English Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1925. First secretary at Washington 1926-29. Counsellor at Paris 1929-30. Counsellor in London and Chargé d'Affaires 1930-31, and was in charge at the time of the Persian Exhibition. Chief of the Economics Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1932. Chargé d'Affaires again in London March to December 1933. Head of the Treaty Department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1934; served also in the Passport section. For three months from the end of 1935 he was in Baghdad on a mission charged with negotiations over the frontier dispute, but achieved little. "Chef du protocole" May 1936 to December 1937. In charge of the Government-controlled "Iran" Insurance Company 1938. Appointed Persian Government representative with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company 1942 in London. Minister to Polish Government in London, January 1944. Returned to Persia 1945.

Married to a Frenchwoman; speaks French and English. Conscientious and helpful; an excellent type of permanent official, though he has not inherited the eloquence of his father, much to the latter's disappointment.

65. *Isfandiari, Musa Nuri (Muvaffaq us Saltaneh)*

Brother of Asadullah Yamin-Esfandiari. Born in Tehran 1894. Educated in Tehran and Europe. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1916. Secretary at Rome for some time. Chief of the Economic Section of the Ministry 1929. Chief of the League of Nations' section 1932. Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at Paris 1933. Counsellor at Moscow in December 1933, and very soon afterwards transferred to Angora, where he was Chargé d'Affaires for some time. Head of the Consular Department, March 1937. Director-General of Industry and Mines, July 1937. Summarily relieved of that appointment in September owing to a muddle over the Chalus silk factory that was in

reality due to his predecessor, Jehanbani. Administrative Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, December 1937. Minister, Bagdad, August 1938. Sent on a special mission to Berlin 1939. Left Berlin on rupture of relations in 1941, and returned to Bagdad as Minister; recalled to Tehran, on conclusion of five years' foreign service, in 1943. Though at first suspected of pro-German feelings, owing to his visit to Berlin, he behaved correctly on his second period of office in Bagdad. Minister of Agriculture in Soheily's revised Cabinet of December 1943. Ambassador to Turkey, 1945.

Speaks French and Italian. Pleasant, married very early, and has a son who is a champion at lawn-tennis.

66. *Iskandari, Iraj*

Born 1900. Educated in France as a lawyer. Now practising in Tehran. In 1938 published a philosophical review which was nothing more than disguised Communist propaganda, and in that year was one of a group of young Communists imprisoned by Reza Shah. Member of the editorial board of *Rahbar*, the Tudeh Party organ, of which he owns the licence. On Tudeh Central Committee from August 1944 and secretary-general to the party. Owns large properties and is generally regarded as very wealthy. Deputy for Sari in the 14th Majlis and Minister of Commerce and Industry under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946—dropped in October of the same year. Replaced large numbers of non-Tudeh members of the Ministry with Tudeh sympathisers and members during his tenure of office. Went to France, January 1947, and is probably being encouraged to stay there for the present.

67. *I'tibar, Ahmad (I'tibar ud Daulah)*

A rich landowner from Burujird, from where he was elected Deputy for the thirteenth Majlis. Exercised considerable influence in the thirteenth Majlis and for that reason was appointed Minister of Agriculture by Soheily in March 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Sadr's Cabinet, June 1945, but resigned immediately. A man of no scruples who professes to be pro-British because he does not yet envisage the fingers of the Soviet hand of influence reaching Burujird. Will trim his sails to any wind, and not to be trusted.

His son, Abdul Husain (Dr.) was born about 1910 and was partly educated in Germany. Married a German. In 1943 was head of the Technical and Construction Department in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a post in which he made large sums of money by the gilding of the Palais de Justice. Elected Deputy for Burujird in the fourteenth Majlis, and in April 1945 was a member of the Persian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference. Head of water department of Tehran Municipality October 1946.

Speaks excellent German, good English and French.

68. *I'timadi, Nasir Quli (Nassr-ul-Daulah)*

Born about 1886. A Qajar prince, descended from the famous vazir, Mirza Taghi Khan. Occupied various posts in Government service, including Governor of the Gulf Ports in 1923. Sent on an economic mission to Germany in connexion with the settlement of various accounts about 1939. Also held other diplomatic posts in Europe. Returned to Persia 1942, and soon after appointed assistant to the Prime Minister by Soheily, with the rank of Under-Secretary of State. Governor-General of Khorasan, December 1945. Recalled July 1946.

Ambitions and clever, but without much stability. A good bridge player. Speaks French and German.

69. *Jahanbani, Amir Lashkar Amanullah*

Born about 1890, son of the late Amanullah Mirza, Zia-ed-Dowleh (a descendant of Fath Ali Shah), who committed suicide in the British consulate in Tabriz, where he had taken refuge from the Russians in 1917.

Amanullah joined the Persian Cossack Artillery School in 1907. In 1910 he was sent to the military school in Moscow, where he graduated in 1913. For the following two years he was attached to the Imperial Guard. In 1916 he entered the Persian Cossack Division with the rank of captain, and was made aide-de-camp to the Russian General Staroselsky, then commanding officer of the Cossack Division. He sided with Reza Khan in the *coup d'Etat* in 1921, and later distinguished himself in the operations against Simitko, being greatly helped therein by former Tsarist officers attached to his staff. Was made a general, and became chief of the General Staff in 1922. He visited France and England in 1923. Although a Qajar prince, he favoured the change of dynasty in 1925. Removed from his post as Chief of Staff for taking matters too easily, but regained the Royal favour, and was appointed to command the Eastern Division in August 1926. He organised and commanded the expedition for the pacification of Persian Baluchistan in the autumn of 1928, and in November 1928 he was created General of Division (Amir Lashkar) as a reward for his services; in December 1930 went to France to follow a course of two years' training at the Staff College.

Inspector-General of the Army in 1932. Inspector of military schools in 1933. Employed in Baluchistan in 1934 and 1935. In October 1935 fell from favour as the result of remarks made by him criticising certain arrangements for the Senior Officers' Staff College. His eclipse was, however, brief, and he was appointed Director-General of Industry in March 1936. Dismissed in July 1937. The reasons are variously rumoured as friendliness with foreigners, espionage by his Russian wife, or an explosion which occurred in a powder magazine.

He is pleasant and agreeable, though inclined to suffer from swelled head. Intelligent and fairly well educated, he is enthusiastic about sport, which he has done much to encourage in the Persian army; plays polo and tennis moderately well. Fond of European society, easy-going, and somewhat lacking in determination. He does not fleece the populace as do many of his colleagues. He is inclined to imitate westerners, and is ready to accept new ideas and machines without considering their suitability.

Is friendly to Englishmen, but finds Frenchmen and Russians of the former régime more congenial. Reported in prison in Tehran in July 1939, and in poor health. Liberated 1941 and made Minister of the Interior in September. Minister of Roads and Communications, December 1941. Minister of War, March 1942, and employed in the autumn at court as a kind of aide-de-camp in general to the Shah. Useful in doing little jobs with the Soviet Embassy, but gives the impression of being overmuch inclined to subject the present Shah to the same sort of fulsome flattery which turned his father's head.

General officer commanding, Fars, September 1943. Commandant, Cadet College, 1946 until November when he went on a tour of training establishments in France and Belgium. On his return in February 1947 he was appointed to the sinecure post of Inspector to the Eastern Forces in the Ministry for War.

First vice-president of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, March 1945.

Speaks Russian and French fluently; has a Russian, as well as at least one Persian, wife.

70. *Jahanbani, Muhammed Hussein*

Born about 1892, brother of Amanullah Jahanbani. Educated at Tehran and in Russia, and joined the Persian Cossack Division about 1916. Chief of Staff to General Amir Ahmedi in the Luristan operations about 1928. Military Governor of the Boir Ahmedi country shortly afterwards, where he governed with some success. Fell from favour with Reza Shah at the same time as his brother, in 1935. Then served in various capacities at the Ministry of Industry, especially in some purchasing commissions. Director-General at the Ministry of the Interior 1943, being in charge of the arrangements for the elections to the fourteenth Majlis, an occupation which nearly drove him crazy. Chief of Police, February 1944. Head of Road Transport Department in January 1945. Resigned two months later.

Speaks French, Russian and some English. The author of an anthology of Persian poetry. Said to be very corrupt financially, but is easy to get on with.

71. *Jam Mahmud (Mudir-ul-Mulk)*

Born about 1880. Has had a long career in the customs and other Government departments, and was, for more than ten years, Persian secretary to the French Legation in Tehran. Director of the Alimentation Service, Tehran, from 1916 to 1920, where he did good work. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in the short-lived Cabinet of Sayyid Zia-ed-Din 1921. Acting Minister of Finance, January 1922, and Minister of Finance October 1923 to August 1924. Appointed as assistant to Prime Minister, Serdar Sipeh, until the latter became provisional head of the State on the 31st October, 1925, and then assistant to the two following Prime Ministers. Appointed Persian Minister to Brussels in 1926, but did not proceed. Appointed Governor of Kerman Province in September 1927, and Governor-General of Khorassan in April 1928. Recalled from Khorassan in December 1928 and appointed Minister of Public Works. Returned to Khorassan as Governor-General in August 1929. Appointed Minister of the Interior in Ferouhi's Cabinet of 1933, and succeeded him as Prime Minister in December 1935. Headed the mission to Egypt on the Crown Prince's betrothal to Princess Fauzieh, June-July 1938, and received the Order of Muhammad Ali from King Farouk. Minister of Court, October 1939. Ambassador to Egypt 1941.

An amiable and pleasant man who speaks French fluently. The Legation, in their dealings with him, have always found him trustworthy and sincere.

72. *Kamal Hidayat, Husain Ali (Nasr-ul-Mulk)*

Born about 1880, son of the late Mukhbir-ul-Dowleh, K.C.I.E.

He was prominent in the political events associated with the constitutional troubles of 1909-11, and became a member of the second Majlis in 1913. In March 1915 he was appointed Minister of Posts, Telegraphs, Commerce and Public Works, and in that capacity was suspected (in common with his uncle) of pro-German leanings. He held various ministerial posts between 1917 and 1923.

In 1921 he accompanied the then Crown Prince of Persia on a voyage to India and to various European countries.

In 1925 he was appointed Governor-General of Isfahan.

In June 1927 he was appointed Governor-General of Fars, and in December 1927 went to Bagdad as acting consul-general. His tenure of office at Bagdad was not a success; he fell foul of

the Residency owing to certain discourteous omissions in his conduct towards the Residency officials. Whether or not these transgressions were performed on his own responsibility or under instructions from his Government, the latter soon recalled him in some disfavour.

Thereafter he was unemployed until December 1931, when he was appointed Persian Minister at Tokyo. Recalled to Tehran, July 1934. Appointed Governor of Tehran, November 1935 until December 1938. President of the "Cour des Comptes" or Audit Department 1940, and was Minister of Justice for one day in the short-lived Ferouhi Cabinet of March 1942. Minister of Commerce and Industry in Bayat's Cabinet, November 1944; Minister without portfolio under Hakimi, May 1945; again without portfolio in Sadr's Cabinet, June 1945. Minister of Justice, June 1945. Again Minister without portfolio, November 1945 (Hakimi). Ambassador to Afghanistan, January 1946.

He is a pleasant and intelligent little man. His relations with British consular officers at Isfahan and Shiraz were always cordial and friendly, but he is not a great personality.

73. *Kambakhsh, Abdus-Samad*

Born 1905, at Kazvin; his father, still alive in 1943, was Ain-ul-Mamalik, a Qajar prince and wealthy landowner at Kazvin. Entered Persian army about 1923; sent to Leningrad for training and became a pilot there; also imbibed the doctrines of communism with enthusiasm. On return was active Communist and was known as the Persian representative on the Comintern. Sentenced to death by Reza Shah, but was pardoned and then imprisoned with fifty-three other Communists. Exiled in 1940 to Bandar Abbas; released on the fall of Reza in 1941. Married to a Persian related to the Kia family who acts as an accoucheuse in Tehran.

Elected to the fourteenth Majlis for Kazvin, by help of the Soviet representative. Generally regarded as one of the more decent Tudeh members. He is believed to be dissatisfied with the complete subservience of his party to Soviet interests. Put in charge of the publicity of the Tudeh party in August 1944.

74. *Kazimi, Baqir (Muazzib-ud-Daulah)*

Born about 1887. Educated in the School of Political Science in Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, being first attached to the Russian section, and later employed in the Cabinet of the Ministry. Appointed Chief of Cabinet in 1921. Appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Washington in 1925. Sent to Iraq to inspect Persian consulates in 1928. Later in the same year appointed counsellor to the Persian Legation in Kabul, but could only proceed as far as Herat, where he remained as Persian consul-general. Appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads and Communications in 1930, and Acting Minister in 1931. Appointed substantive Minister of Roads and Communications in May 1931, but had to resign in February 1932, owing, it is said, to being unable to build roads fast enough for His Majesty the ex-Shah. He was subsequently appointed Persian Minister in Bagdad, towards the end of 1932.

To almost everyone's surprise, Kazemi was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Ferouhi's Cabinet of September 1933.

Went on official visits to Afghanistan and India November-December 1935, and was the guest of the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) at Delhi. Resigned March 1936, and unemployed until appointed Governor-General of Eastern Azerbaijan, April 1937.

Ambassador, Kabul, July 1938. Ambassador, Angora, October 1939.

Kazemi is socially agreeable and friendly, and speaks English and some French. As Minister for Foreign Affairs he was not a success. He was untruthful and unreliable, and relations between him and His Majesty's Ministers in 1934-36 became very strained. His departure was greeted by all foreign missions with relief.

Minister of Public Health, December 1941 to March 1942. Then Minister of Finance in Qawam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, but resigned before its fall in circumstances which did him little credit. Appointed to Angora as ambassador in May 1943, but did not proceed; the Turks appear to like him as little as the Iraqis, who have not forgotten how he opposed them in the dispute concerning the Shatt-el-Arab waters. Minister of Education in Sa'id's reshuffled Cabinet of August 1944. Delegate to U.N.O., January 1946. Minister to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, April 1946.

A man of intelligence and energy.

75. *Kazimi, Mustafa (Dabir-ul-Mulk)*

Born in Tehran 1891. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran. Entered the Ministry of Education 1914, and appointed Director of Education at Kerman in 1915. Caused a great deal of trouble to the British forces and the Imperial Bank of Persia during the war of 1939-45. Financial agent at Isfahan 1920-22. In the Ministry of Finance, 1923-25. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice, 1927-28. Chairman of the Caspian Fisheries Committee, 1928-32. Governor-General of Kerman, 1932-33.

Engaged in politics after the fall of Reza Shah; tried to found a new party without success, June 1942. Elected member of the Majlis for Kerman 1943, after vehement protestations of repentance for his anti-British past.

As one of the leaders of the Ittihad-i-Milli fraction in the Majlis, he consistently and strongly opposed the spread of Soviet influence, and right at the end of the fourteenth Majlis he was not afraid to deliver a speech violently critical of the Soviet's breach of the Tripartite Treaty.

76. *Kashani (or Kashi), Saiyid Abul-Qasim*

Born about 1888. Educated at Kerbela and lived there for many years as a mujtahid. Expelled by the Iraq Government in 1922 for non-co-operation with our policy in that country, and came back to Persia, where he has been ever since. Kept in the background during Reza Shah's reign, but on the latter's abdication in 1941 came back into prominence and achieved a certain popularity partly owing to his reputation as an opponent of Reza Shah. His anti-British bias, a legacy from 1922, led him into intrigues with German agents and in August 1943 he fled from Tehran to avoid arrest. He was arrested by British security authorities in June 1944 and confessed to having helped German agents. Released in August 1945. He nurses a bitter enmity towards the British. Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltaneh July 1946 and released in November.

77. *Khajeh-Nuri, Ghulam Ali (Nizam-us-Saltan)*

Son of Amir Noury (Nizam-ud-Dowleh). Member of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for several years, with an interval as secretary at the Legation in Rome in 1935. Visited London in September 1937 on business connected with the printing of bank-notes for the Iranian Government and commissions for the Royal palace.

Educated partly in Russia, where he learnt ballet-dancing. Speaks French and Russian. Though of decadent appearance, he is helpful and friendly. Aided by his cultivated and charming wife, who is a daughter of Dr. Ali Asghar Naficy, he is hospitable and popular with the Diplomatic Corps.

Has done various services for the Court after the fall of Reza Shah, the latest one being French instructor to the Queen-Mother, whom he admires with an enthusiasm which is no credit to his intelligence. Chief Inspector in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1946.

He prefers to be known as Nizam Khajeh-Noury.

78. *Khusruvani, Sartip Ahmad*

Was in temporary command of the air force in 1931 during the occasions when General Ahmad Nakhebevan was suspended, and again in 1937 when General Nakhebevan was appointed assistant to the Minister of War. Promoted brigadier (Sartip) and placed in command of the air force, 1939. O.C. Troops, Tabriz, 1942, but returned to be head of the air force at the end of 1944, after he had been expelled by the Russians from Azerbaijan.

Shows commendable energy, but his ideas are out of date.

79. *Kishavarz, Faridun, Dr.*

Born in 1906. Partly educated in France as a doctor of medicine and formerly practised at Pahlevi, but now runs a large and prosperous children's clinic in Tehran. In 1944 became one of the leading members of the Tudeh Party, of which he is a member of the Central Committee, and since then has been responsible in large measure for the organisation of the party. Completely unscrupulous and reported to be a perfect tool for the Russians. An accomplished public speaker. Editor of the Tudeh newspaper *Razm*. Tudeh Deputy for Pahlevi in the 14th Majlis. In December 1945 was invited by the Soviet Government to attend ceremonies held in Tashkent on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Central Asian Middle East College. Minister for Education under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in August 1946, but was dropped in the Cabinet reshuffle of October of the same year. During his tenure of office he succeeded in filling many important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

80. *Kooros, Issa (Esau)*

Born about 1896. A commissioned officer in the South Persian Rifles during the 1914-18 war. For many years a leading merchant of Tehran, representative of Imperial Chemical Industries, Metropolitan Vickers, &c. Has a branch in London, and his wife and children are in England (1943). Speaks excellent English and is well disposed towards us. Patriotic and of strict integrity. Fell into disgrace under Reza Shah through no fault of his own. Seems inclined to enter politics and stood for the Majlis for Tehran 1943 without success. Vice-President of Tehran Chamber of Commerce since October 1942. Member of Tehran Municipal Council 1943. Member of board of directors of Iranian Airways 1946. Deputy for Tehran in fifteenth Majlis.

Probably, the wealthiest merchant in Tehran.

81. *Kupal, Sadiq*

Born in Tabriz about 1889. Educated in Persia and Constantinople. Originally an artillery officer; but joined the gendarmerie in 1911. Was with the Turks when they approached Hamadan in 1916. Went to Angora on a congratulatory mission in 1922 and remained there as military attaché, till 1924.

On the staff of the G.O.C. North-West Division in 1924. Chief of police in 1929. In temporary command of the air force in 1931. Liaison officer with the Iraq forces in the operations against Jaafar Sultan 1931-32. Head of the Conscription Department 1934. Accompanied His Imperial Majesty the Shah on his journey to Turkey in 1934. Has the Gallipoli star.

Governor of Rezaieh in 1941, but retired thence in a great hurry when the town was threatened with insurrection by Kurds and Assyrians in March 1942. Suspected of complicity in the Zahedy plots. Very intimate with the Turkish Ambassador, 1943. Arrested at the instance of the Allied security authorities September 1943, released May 1945. Director of Military Tribunal, Tehran, February 1946.

Energetic and loquacious; a brigadier-general in rank. Has a Turkish wife. Neither studious nor professionally ambitious. Shows some interest in horse-racing.

A bovine and brutish appearance gives the clue to his personality.

82. *Lankarani, Shaikh Husain*

Born about 1890 in Soviet Azerbaijan. Elected Deputy for Ardebil in the fourteenth Majlis. Owed election to Soviet intervention. Without Russian backing would have no influence. Noted Tehran intriguer, mob orator and trouble-maker. In 1943-44 was employed by the Shah to stir up trouble against Sayyid Zia-ud-Din. A typical Akhund, venal and double-faced. Qavam arrested him July 1946, but released him in December.

83. *Mansur, (Rajab) Ali, C.B.E. (Mansur-ul-Mulk)*

Born about 1888. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Began his career in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and was employed in the English section. He subsequently transferred to the Tribunal section, where he rose to be Director of the Civil Court. Appointed Director of the English section in 1917. Appointed Under-Secretary of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of the Interior in 1920. Created C.B.E. 1920. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in April 1927, and held that post until January 1931, when he was made Minister of the Interior. Transferred to the post of Minister of Roads and Communications in January 1933. Arrested in January 1936 on charges of misappropriation and incompetence. Acquitted August 1936. Rehabilitated as Minister of Industry and Mines, August 1938.

Mansur is believed to have made money out of the sale of promotions while at the Ministry of the Interior. During the time he was employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he was brought into contact very frequently with this legation, and was always found to be friendly and agreeable. Selected by Reza Shah for the post of Prime Minister June 1940, it was to him that the joint Russo-British ultimatum was delivered on the 25th August, 1941. As the result of the subsequent events he resigned in September 1941. Governor-General of Khorassan, February 1942, in which post he showed some energy in collecting wheat, though his administration of the funds of the shrine laid him open to various accusations of embezzlement. Recalled from Khorassan in the autumn of 1945. A clever man, often in the running for the post of Prime Minister. Speaks French. Appointed Governor-General, Azerbaijan, December 1946.

84. *Marzban, Dr. Ismail (Amin-ul-Mulk)*

Born about 1875, at Resht. Studied medicine in France, and has practised as an oculist at Tehran for about the last forty years. Visited London in connexion with the Constitutional movement in 1906. Has had several excursions into politics, having been Minister of Posts and Telegraphs whenever his fellow-citizen, the late Sipahdar, was in power. President of the Iran Club after Jam, a post which he still holds.

Universally liked and respected as an honest old gentleman. Owns a little property in Resht, but is not rich, and still practised up to his appointment as Minister of Public Health under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1942. He resigned from that post in December 1942. One son, Nan'chihr Marzban, is now in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Has been a member of the "Taraqqi" party for some years, but has never done much active political work. Unlikely to do much, either right or wrong. Benevolent and agreeable manner. Speaks French. Took a prominent part in supervising the Tehran elections, December 1943. President of the Anti-Narcotic League, January 1944. Minister of Health in Hakimi's Cabinet, May 1945.

85. *Mas'ud, Akbar (Sarim-ud-Douleh)*

Born 1885. Eighth, and second surviving, son of Mas'ud Mirza Zill-us-Sultan, son of Nasir-ed-Din Shah. Was early recognised as one of the most intelligent of the Zill's fourteen sons, and now has succeeded to the major part of his father's inheritance. Minister of Public Works and Commerce 1915. Minister for Foreign Affairs 1916. Governor of Isfahan in 1917. Minister of Finance in Vusuq-ud-Douleh's Cabinet of 1919; one of the triumvirate who arranged the abortive Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1920; Governor of Kermanshah and Hamadan in November 1920. Governor-General of Fars 1922-23, and again in 1929. Arrested shortly after the fall of Firuz Mirza in 1929, and kept under surveillance near Tehran for several months. Thereafter lived quietly in Tehran till 1932, when he was allowed to return to his vast properties in and around Isfahan.

Killed his own mother at his father's instigation on a point of honour in 1906. He seems to have lived down the odium of this deed. Has been several times to Europe and has visited England. Speaks English and French fluently and is pleasant-mannered, clever and intelligent. The two-fold stigma of being pro-British and a Qajar prevented him coming back to power during the régime of Reza Shah. Since the fall of Reza Shah he has continued aloof from public affairs, though he has kept in touch with what is going on, and has now become the unofficial controller of almost everything in Isfahan. He takes a great pride in his model village at Asgharabad, near Isfahan, and may very easily have a part to play in shaping Persia's future in the next few years. Has one surviving son, and a daughter. A famous hunter.

86. *Mas'udi, Abbas*

Born in 1895 in Tehran. Educated in Tehran, and for a year in France. A journalist by profession and by nature. Proprietor with his brother, Jamal Massoudi, of one of the two principal vernacular daily papers in Tehran (the *Ittila'at*) and of the French daily paper *Journal de Tehran*. He accompanied the present Shah, when Crown Prince, to Iraq, Syria and Egypt on his wedding tour as press representative, and kept the Tehran press supplied with a stream of accounts of the Prince's doings, in that quasi-religious style that alone was permitted

to Persians when speaking of their monarchy. A Deputy in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth Majlises.

In the thirteenth Majlis came out strongly in opposition to Qavam-us-Saltaneh, being severely beaten by some of his opponents in the riots of the 8th December, 1942. Visited Palestine and Egypt in May-June 1943. Appointed Director of Iran Airways, December 1944. Visited United States in April 1945, as one of several representatives of the Tehran press invited by the American Government. Covered the U.N.O. meetings in London in early 1946 as unofficial representative of the Persian press. Elected to fifteenth Majlis for Tehran.

87. *Matin-Daftari, Dr. Ahmad*

Born in Tehran 1898. A nephew of Dr. Musaddiq, whose daughter he has married. Educated in Tehran, partly at the American College. Entered the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1918. Persian secretary to the German Legation in Tehran 1920-23. Returned to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1923-27. Joined the Ministry of Justice in 1927 and appointed Attorney-General of the Court of Appeal. Sent to Europe by the Ministry of Justice in 1929 to take up an advanced course of law, during which he studied in Germany, and for a time was sworn in as a judge in a German court. Obtained a degree as doctor of law. Returned to Persia 1931. Director-General of the Ministry of Justice 1932. Acting Minister of Justice when Davar was away at Geneva in 1933. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice 1934. Represented Persia at the International Law Conference held in Berlin in 1935. Minister of Justice 1936. Member of the mission to Egypt for the Crown Prince's marriage February-April 1939. Prime Minister, October 1939.

Reza Shah made him resign in June 1940, and his conduct of the various negotiations which had taken place while he was Prime Minister gave rise to a strong suspicion that he was favouring the Germans. In fact, in the speech which he made to journalists and Majlis Deputies shortly after Matin-Daftari's dismissal, Reza Shah accused him of not reporting fully to the Shah. However, it is difficult to believe this; the Shah being an absolute autocrat, receiving detailed reports from numerous sources, it seems unlikely that any Prime Minister would risk the Royal wrath by suppressing anything. He himself says it was the Shah who ordered him to favour the Germans. Retired into seclusion in June 1940 until two years later. In 1943 was evidently hoping to re-enter the political arena. Arrested as a suspect June 1943, but soon released. Minister without Portfolio in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946.

Stood unsuccessfully as candidate for Tehran in elections for fifteenth Majlis.

Speaks French and German, and a little English; he has travelled in England. A very hard-working and conscientious official, always very helpful when approached. A good speaker, with a thorough knowledge of local legal administration.

88. *Mir'at, Ismail*

Born in 1892 in Tehran. Son of a prominent politician, Mir'at-ul-Mamalik. Began his career in the Ministry of Interior. Governor-General, Kerman, November 1937. Acting Minister of Education, August 1938. Confirmed as Minister 1939.

Minister of Public Health, September 1941, and resigned two months later, having incurred displeasure by converting an old shrine into a football field and encouraging mixed bathing.

Spent several years in France, and speaks French. Not a very forceful personality.

89. *Misbah-Fatimi, Ali Naghi*

Born about 1898. Related to Inad-es-Saltaneh (Mehdi Fatimi) of the well-known Isfahan family, though not related (he says) to Seifpur Fatimi and his brothers. Has had a career under the Ministry of the Interior, in various posts and inspection duties. Vice-Governor of Isfahan 1925. Governor-General of Khuzistan in 1940 and again in 1943.

Speaks English and French. Gets on well with the authorities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company with whom he co-operated satisfactorily during the labour troubles of the summer of 1946.

90. *Muazid, Mas'ud*

Born about 1890. Educated in the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and served in certain Russian posts, also Trebizond. A personal friend of Bagher Kazemy, who, when Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1934, appointed Moazed head of the second political section of the Ministry which deals with Russia. Consul-General at Herat in 1937. Head of the Consular Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1937. Counsellor, Angora, November 1938.

Returned to Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1940 and in 1941 became the head of the Consular and Passport Department.

Persian Government representative at Beirut, January 1944, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. Withdrawn end of 1946.

A somewhat dried-up individual. Speaks Russian and French.

91. *Mudabbir-Nuri, Kazim (Mudabbir-us-Saltaneh)*

Born 1894 in Shiraz. In 1912 entered Government service and till 1927 was employed in Government offices in Fars, reaching the rank of Assistant Governor. In 1935 Governor of Yazd; in 1937 of Ardebil; in 1938 of Luristan; and in 1941 of Mazandaran, where he had to cope with the invading Russians in August and September of that year. In May 1943 appointed Governor of Isfahan, and was useful and co-operative in collecting grain, &c. Recalled, 1944. Appointed Governor of Yazd, 1946.

A talkative man, full of bright ideas and a great sense of his own importance.

92. *Muqaddam, Muhammad Ali*

Born about 1889. Educated in Tehran. Has held various posts under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for the most part in Russia. Director of Archives in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for a time, 1930-31 "chef de cabinet" to the Minister. Sent to the Hejaz and Saudi Arabia as Minister at the end of 1933. Left Jedda for Beirut May 1935, and appointed Minister to the Balkan States just after, residing at Bucharest. Accredited also to Czechoslovakia, January 1938. Director-General, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, January 1939. Accompanied the Crown Prince to Egypt, February to April 1939. "Chef du Protocole" of the Court, August 1939. Minister in London, 1940.

Relieved of his functions by Taghi-Zadeh, October 1941, but stayed in Scotland for some time before venturing home. Back in Tehran, unemployed and disappointed, early in 1943. Appointed to Cairo to deal with Saudi Arabian affairs, residing at Cairo, December 1943.

Speaks Russian, French and a little English. His wife is of Russian birth. Has developed into a long-winded and foolish man.

93. *Muqaddam, Hassan, General (Sarlashkar)*

Born about 1890. Commanded at Sauj Bulagh in 1929. General Officer Commanding North-West Division, December 1929. General Officer Commanding Kurdistan Division at Sennah 1936. When in Kurdistan had a reputation for efficiency and energy. Was the undisputed ruler of the province of Kurdistan from 1938 to 1941. General Officer in command of the troops in the West when the Russo-British invasion took place in 1941, and after handing over to the invading forces retired to Tehran.

Being an old friend of Reza Shah he was retained in the army and in June 1942 was made Governor-General of Azerbaijan, on account of his local knowledge and alleged ability to get on with the Russians. However, being himself a landowner in the district he became involved in all sorts of chicanery concerning his wheat, and failed to produce the much-needed grain for Tehran. He was also accused of giving in to the Russians about the election candidates and other matters, and was summoned to Tehran in May and finally dismissed in August 1943; he appears to have resisted for some time the order to report to Tehran: instead of obeying he retired to his estates near Maragheh. Ministry of War Inspector June 1945.

Muqaddam gives the impression of being a clever though cautious old soldier, unable to resist the temptation to make money whenever possible. His daughter is married to Reza Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk.

94. *Musaddiq, Dr. Muhammad (Musaddiq-us-Saltaneh)*

Born about 1885; a nephew of Farman Farma. Has studied law in Paris to a certain extent and poses as a jurist. Appointed Governor-General of Fars in 1920. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1921, and sought and obtained authority from Parliament to purge and reform that Ministry. However, during his six months' tenure of that portfolio he destroyed indiscriminately the good with the bad, and at the end the organisation was worse than before, as he proved himself entirely incapable of making reforms. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in 1922, and in 1923 became Minister for Foreign Affairs for a period of four months. Elected as a Deputy to the fourth, fifth, and sixth terms of the Majlis from Tehran. Owing to his opposition to the Government in the sixth term, steps were taken to prevent his election to the seventh Majlis.

Imprisoned and otherwise ill-treated by Reza Shah, he spent the last few years of Reza's reign in a village near Tehran. Headed the poll in the Tehran elections in 1944. Tried unsuccessfully to unseat Sayyid Zia.

Sponsored the Oil Law of December 1944 prohibiting the grant of any oil concession until after the departure of all foreign troops from Persia. Made a determined effort to be re-elected to fifteenth Majlis but though he obtained a large number of votes, was defeated by the candidates of the Iran Democrat Party. A demagogue, a windbag.

95. *Musavizadah, Akbar*

President of Provincial High Court of Ustans 1 and 2 in May 1942. Was suspected of pro-Axis activities in World War II and was interned by the British and released in July 1945. Was not a prominent fifth columnist and is said, by the Minister of War, to bear the British no ill-will for having been interned. Member of delegation under Muzaffar Firuz which went to Tabriz in 1946 to

announce agreement between Central Government and Democrats. Member of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Democrat Party of Iran 1946. Member of Elections Supervisory Council 1946. Appointed Governor-General of Tehran in October 1946, but did not take up the appointment owing to his inclusion in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet of October 1946 as Minister of Justice.

96. *Mushar, Hassan (Mushar-ul-Mulk)*

Born about 1874. Started his career in the Ministry of Finance and rose to be an accountant. Appointed Minister of Finance in 1916, and again in 1918 in the Cabinet of Mirza Hassan Khan Vossuq, subsequently exchanging that post for that of Minister without portfolio until June 1920. Appointed Minister of Court by Seyyid Zia-ed-Din in 1921. Elected a Deputy to the fourth term of the Majlis in 1921, but, being suspected of plotting against Reza Khan Pahlavi, then Minister of War, he was obliged to resign and go to Europe. He returned to Persia in 1924, his innocence having meanwhile been established. Appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in August 1924 and resigned in December 1925. Appointed Minister of Finance in November 1929, but resigned in April 1930, having found that the interference of the Minister of Court in financial administration rendered his position untenable.

In 1931 he was appointed steward of the Royal estates in Mazandaran, a post which appears to have occupied all his energies till 1935. Being unwilling to hand over the whole of his properties to the Shah he was dismissed.

Went to France 1940 and in 1943 was said to be in Switzerland.

He is a man of common sense and intelligence. As Minister for Foreign Affairs, he showed himself very friendly to His Majesty's Legation, and used his best endeavours for the settlement of outstanding questions. He is not popular with many of his compatriots in high places owing to his straightforward character and outspokenness.

97. *Mutamidi, Ali*

Born about 1897. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs about 1919. Served abroad as secretary at various posts; Chargé d'Affaires at Rome in 1933. Head of the Third Political Department of the Ministry (which dealt with British affairs) in 1934 and 1935. Transferred to direct the First Political Department, June 1936. Hard-working and intelligent; a good type of the younger school, who showed himself reasonable and conscientious in dealing with our affairs in the Ministry. Head of the Department of Registration of Land and Documents under the Ministry of Justice, March 1938. When the Minister of Justice (Matin-Daftary) was made Prime Minister in October 1939, he took Mutamidi with him as Private Secretary.

Married the sister of Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Noury. Private Secretary to the Prime Minister in Soheily's Cabinet of 1942, and became Minister of Posts and Telegraphs for a few days at the end of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet, February 1943. Has also been in charge of the Road Transport Board in 1942 and 1943. Appointed Consul-General at Delhi July 1943. Member of Advisory Council of Anglo-Persian Institute, 1943.

Honest. Speaks French, Italian and a little English.

98. *Nabavi, Taqi (Muazziz-ed-Douleh)*

Born in Tehran 1882. Joined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1899. Consul at Batoum 1908.

Consul at Ashkabad 1910. Karguzar at Meshed in 1912. Consul-general at Tiflis 1919-21. Has served as consul-general in India. Minister for Foreign Affairs for two months in Seyyid Zia's Cabinet of 1921. Consul-general in Syria 1930. Minister in Iraq 1931-32. Appointed president of the Iran-Soviet Caspian Sea Fisheries Company, 1935. Minister at Brussels, August 1937. Recalled August 1938.

A corpulent little man, speaking French, Russian and English. Was well in with Teymourache, but survived the latter's fall. Suspected of making irregular use of customs privilege while employed abroad. Quite a well-disposed person, though not exceedingly intelligent.

Head of the Caspian Fisheries Board again 1940. A difficult post which he seems to occupy with some success, as he knows Russian well and is often able to frustrate, by a little diplomacy, the Russian plans to gain complete control of that undertaking. Minister at Lisbon, October 1944.

99. *Nafisi, Hassan (Musharaf-ul-Douleh)*

Third son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atibba. Born in Tehran 1896. Educated in Persia and went to France in 1909, where he graduated from the Lycée Henri IV. Returned to Persia in 1914 and joined the Ministry of Finance. On the staff of that Ministry till 1921, when he was appointed Director of the Inspection Department of the Tehran Municipality. Left for France in 1922, where he studied law for two years. Obtained the degree of doctor of law from the University of Paris, and the diploma of the School of Political Science. Returned to the Ministry of Finance for two years in 1925. Assistant to the procureur général of the Court of Appeal in 1927, and in 1923 president of the Tribunal of Commerce. Joined the staff of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as legal adviser in 1928. Visited London 1929. Left the company's service in 1930, and set up private practice as an advocate in 1930; but remained the company's lawyer. Has one of the best legal practices in Tehran. Visited London again in 1933 and 1935.

Minister of Finance in Peroughi's Cabinet 1941, and did good work in the difficult task of reconstructing the country's finances on a new basis. Resigned with that Cabinet early in 1942 and has not since been employed. He now contributes articles on financial subjects to newspapers, and was the author of a brochure on inflation and how to combat it. Persian Government representative to International Bank in 1946. Not popular with the ordinary run of Persians because he despises flattery and circumlocutions.

Married the daughter of Amin-ed-Douleh in 1931. Speaks English and French. A very sensible man, with a sound knowledge of local and French law; has been very helpful on many occasions to this Legation on legal points.

100. *Nafisi, Said*

Second son of the late Dr. Nazem-ul-Atibba. Born in Tehran 1893. Educated in Persia and later in France. Returned to Persia in 1911, and was employed in the Ministry of the Interior. Transferred to the Ministry of Public Works in 1916, where he held different posts till 1927. Since then has been professor of the Persian language and literature in various schools. Has also done a good deal of journalism for the *Ittifa'at*, the *Journal de Téhéran* and other newspapers. Has also been active in promoting the first Persian cinema film. Has a great reputation as a prose writer. Author of a life of the poet Rudaki, and of a French-Persian dictionary. Published some

violently anti-British articles in the local press when the D'Arcy Concession was cancelled. Has a certain knowledge of the Pahlavi language. A member of the Iranian Academy (Farhangistan). A scholar of sorts and an active propagandist of pro-Russian views. Visited Moscow in autumn of 1945.

Prominent in the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society.

101. *Najm, Abul-Qasim*

Born in Tehran 1893. Son of the late Najm-ul-Mulk, a noted astronomer.

Educated at the School for Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1911. Chief accountant at the Ministry 1920-24, and again from 1926-28. Transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and appointed Director-General there in 1930. Under-Secretary to that Ministry in 1933. In November of that year appointed Minister to Germany. Minister in Tokyo early 1940; recalled on rupture of relations 1942. Said to have expressed admiration for Japanese methods. Ambassador at Kabul July 1943.

A polite and hard-working official, whose appointment to a foreign post caused general surprise, as he does not shine at foreign languages and had had no experience of life abroad. Ambassador at Kabul 1943-45. His Majesty's Minister, Kabul, reported that he was friendly but ineffective, his co-operation with His Majesty's Legation being adequate but no more. Understands English tolerably well. Minister in the short-lived Hakimi Government in the summer of 1945 but had not left Kabul when that Government fell. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Hakimi's Cabinet of November 1945. He did his best to deal with the Azerbaijan crisis but the difficulties were too great for him.

102. *Nakhai Muhammad*

Born about 1902. Educated in Persia; speaks French.

Secretary of the Persian Legation in Brussels from 1928 for some years, and then remained in Belgium teaching Persian. Also studied law, and eventually returned to Persia to join the National Bank as head of its legal department. Later transferred to the Ministry of Finance as private secretary to the Minister (General Amirhosseini). 1941 became president of the Exchange Commission. At the end of 1943 private secretary to the Prime Minister (Sohelley). Has visited England, and his thesis for his doctorate was a dissertation on *Le Pétrole en Iran*.

Has rank of Director-General. In autumn 1943 helped to organise Government Employees' and Tenants' Association. President of Association of Iranian graduates of Belgian Universities.

Minister of Commerce in Sa'idi's reconstituted Cabinet of August 1944.

Minister of Agriculture in Sadr's Government in 1945.

Capable, intelligent and well-disposed towards us. Brother of Dr. Hussein Quds. Brother-in-law of Najm.

103. *Nakhchevan, Muhammad (Amir Muwassaq)*

Born at Tehran about 1882. His father was an officer in the Cossack Brigade. Educated partly in the Russian Military School at Tiflis. On his return to Persia he joined the Cossack Brigade. Director of the Military Academy at Tehran in 1922, as a reward for loyalty to Reza Shah; he had previously been engaged in the fighting in Gilan

with the Bolsheviks and Kuchik Khan. In 1928 appointed Acting Chief of the General Staff. Acting Minister of War in August 1934; attained the rank of Amir Lashkar in 1935. Relieved of his functions as Acting Minister in April 1936.

An exceedingly stupid, fat man, who appears to owe his high appointments to a habit of carrying out orders with no comment; never holding any opinion of his own, he never went far wrong, and finally fell simply from the fact that his stupidity got on his royal master's nerves. Head of the Persian Staff College, 1942.

Speaks Russian, French and a little English.

104. *Nakhchevan, Ahmad*

Born at Tehran about 1893. The son of an emigrant from Nakhchevan, in the Caucasus. Educated in Persia and France. Entered the Cossack Division School in 1910. Commissioned in the cavalry in 1913. From 1913 to 1920 served in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Gilan. At Kazvin in 1920 he became a supporter of Reza Shah and joined him for the *coup d'Etat*. In 1922 sent to France for a three years' course in flying. In returning to Persia in 1926 he flew all the way from Paris to Tehran. Director of the Air Force in 1927. Suspended from duty and reinstated three times during 1930-32. Commanded the air force again from 1933 to the end of 1936. Was considered the best Persian pilot. Employed in the Ministry of War early in 1937. Under-Secretary for War in 1938, and virtually Minister, owing to prolonged vacancy in that appointment. Acting Minister of War throughout the latter part of 1938 and the whole of 1939 and 1940. Imprisoned and nearly executed by Reza Shah in a fit of rage during the attack on Persia in September 1941. Minister for War in Feroughi's Cabinet 1941-42. Not employed in official posts since then; he has had trouble with one eye. Proposed as Military Attaché in London but did not proceed. Appointed Head of the Air Force in the early summer of 1944. Paid a formal visit to United Kingdom in November 1944 in connexion with scheme to train the Persian Air Force on Hurricanes, but was promptly replaced by another officer. Subsequently visited America. Appointed Inspector-General of Army in 1945. Transferred General Staff April 1946.

Speaks French and Russian. A gambler, not very interested in politics. A patriotic and fairly dependable person, well-disposed to us and honest.

105. *Nasr, Sayyid Ali*

Born Tehran about 1890, of a well-known family of Seyyids, one of whom was assassinated while serving in the Finance Ministry in 1924. A Government servant whose career has been mostly in the Finance Department, under which he has served in Khuzistan and on various inspection duties. Ministry of the Interior as Assistant, 1943, and was in charge of the Ministry on the departure of Tadayyun in December 1943. Appointed Minister to China, January 1944. Promoted Ambassador when status of Legation was changed to that of an Embassy in February 1945.

One of the moving spirits in the Persian repertory theatre at Tehran; in his youth he was an actor, and has translated and adapted for the Persian stage a number of foreign plays, including those of Molière. Speaks French.

106. *Naubakht, Habibullah*

Born Shiraz about 1895. Taught in a school at Shiraz and ran a scurrilous paper there 1920. Then went to Tehran and was employed in various posts under the Ministry of Education. Published an

eloquent and extravagant panegyric of Reza Shah and was elected for Fasa in the thirteenth Majlis. Opposed the Tripartite Treaty in the Majlis debates in 1941 and 1942, with a great parade of ultra-Nationalist and anti-foreign sentiments; having been struck slightly by another Deputy in a brawl, he came into the Majlis the next day with a very large white bandage round his head to make a still more vituperative speech. Friendly with Abul-Qasim Kashani and in contact with German agents in 1943, and fled to his friends the Qashqai tribe to avoid arrest as a suspect, August 1943. Arrested 1943 by the British. Released August 1945.

Opium addict of very many years' standing.

107. *Nikpay, I'zaz (Azizullah)*

Born in 1896. Educated by the Church Missionary Society at Isfahan and at the American College in Tehran. Speaks English and French. Started his career in the Ministry of Finance. Director of a large and important mill in Isfahan. Governor of Kermanshah in 1940-41. Represented factory owners at International Labour Conference in Paris, October 1945. Governor-General of Kermanshah May 1946 when he set himself almost unreservedly the task of promoting Government interests in face of increasing Tudeh displeasure. Until the time of his recall to Tehran, he resolutely pursued his policy of strengthening Right-wing opposition to the Tudeh and where unsurmountable opposition was not encountered, he directed local affairs with exemplary efficiency. A zealous administrator and frankly pro-British. Pleasant-spoken and intelligent. An intriguer, not entirely honest, but thrifty and capable. Appears to be enlightened on matters regarding relations of employer and employee. Political Under-Secretary and Assistant to the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, in July 1946; granted Ministerial rank September 1946 and Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones under Qavam-us-Saltaneh in October 1946. Resigned December 1946 to become a candidate for Isfahan in the elections for the fifteenth Majlis: was elected and thereafter reappointed Minister.

108. *Nurzad, Ghulam Reza*

Born in Tehran about 1880. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1905 and held different posts in various consulates in Russia. First secretary of the Embassy at Moscow in 1922. Counsellor there in 1924, and later Chargé d'Affaires. Chief of a section at the Ministry 1929. Consul-general at Delhi 1933. Head of the Consular Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1938.

Speaks French and Russian, as well as a certain amount of English. A rather long-winded person, but quite harmless.

Consul-general at Stamboul, May 1941. Recalled July 1943 and appointed head of the International Relations Department in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, November 1943. Transferred to the Court 1944. On Committee of Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society, 1944.

109. *Pahlavi, Shah Muhammad Riza*

The eldest son of Riza Shah by the daughter of Teymour Khan; this lady was the ex-Shah's chief consort and was known as the "Malikeh."

Born on 26th October, 1919, and proclaimed Vali-ahd, or heir-apparent on 1st January, 1926. Educated in Tehran under tutors at first, and then in Switzerland at La Rosey, under the direction of Dr. Muadab Nafisi. Returned to Persia in the spring of 1936. Extremely keen on football and

other sports. Speaks excellent French and good English.

Betrothed in June 1938 and married Princess Fauzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt, at Cairo on 15th March, 1939. The marriage was preceded by a very pompous journey through Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The principal wedding festivities took place in Tehran in April, on the couple's arrival, and were attended by delegations from many countries, including the Earl of Athlone and Her Royal Highness Princess Alice, the Duke of Spoleto and General Weygand. The only offspring so far is one daughter, Shahnaz, born in 1940. Queen Fauzieh has been living in Egypt since 1943 and seems unlikely to return to Persia.

Muhammad Reza succeeded to the throne, on the abdication of his father, in September 1941. He is determined to interpret literally the provision of the Constitution which says that the Shah is the commander of the armed forces, and has hitherto delegated little if any responsibility in army matters to the Minister for War. As yet he has no male heir and he has not yet declared any of his brothers to be "Vali-ahd" or next in succession to the throne.

His attitude in the riots of 8th December, 1942, and in the reshuffle of Suhaili's Cabinet in December 1943 showed him to be on the one hand prone to listen to the advice of worthless subordinates, and on the other hand determined to emulate his father and (in the reported words of Stalin to him at the Tehran Conference in November-December 1943) "be a King in fact as well as in name." His admiration for his father, and the influence of his bitterly anti-British mother, must both tend to make him believe the theory which his mother instils into him, that the British expelled Reza Shah, whereas in actual fact the latter abdicated at the advance of Russian troops on Tehran.

He has become a good amateur pilot and is a skilled horseman.

At heart he distrusts Qavam-us-Saltaneh and has had a number of serious differences with him since he became Prime Minister in 1946. In the latter part of 1946 and early months of 1947 the Shah's popularity steadily increased.

He has intelligence, courage and a capacity for intrigue. In public utterances and official interviews he is plausible but he has no discrimination in the choice of his advisers and tends to take the advice of the last person he sees.

110. *Pahlavi Royal Family*

The following are recognised members of the Pahlavi Royal Family:—

Sons—

- (i) Shahpour Ali Reza, born the 1st March, 1922.
- (ii) Shahpour Ghulam Reza, born the 13th April, 1923.
- (iii) Shahpour Abdur Reza, born the 19th August, 1924.
- (iv) Shahpour Ahmad Reza, born the 17th September, 1925.
- (v) Shahpour Mahmoud Reza, born the 3rd October, 1926.
- (vi) Shahpour Hamid Reza, born the 4th July, 1932.

Daughters—

- (i) Shahdukht (Princess) Shams-ul-Muluk, born the 18th October, 1917. Married Feridun, son of Mahmoud Jam, 1937. Has a daughter.
- (ii) Shahdukht Ashraf-ul-Muluk, born the 26th October, 1919. Married Ali Qavam, son of Qavam-ul-Mulk, 1937, but a divorce took place early in 1942, with

the Shah's approval. Princess Ashraf has a son, Shah-Ram, who is at present the only male grandchild of the ex-Shah, Reza. Married 1944 the son of an Egyptian Pasha.

- (iii) Fatima Khanum, born the 30th October, 1920. Does not appear to be recognised as a princess.

Of these (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) of the sons, and (iii) of the daughters, are the offspring of the ex-Shah's second consort, Ismat (Esmat) Pahlavi; the rest are offspring of the present Shah's mother, except (ii), whose mother, long ago divorced, is Turan, daughter of the late Rapi Majd-ud-Douleh, K.C.M.G.

111. Pakravan, Fathullah (Amir-i-Arfa')

Born about 1885. First became known as a member of the second Majlis, where it appears that he was the laughing-stock of his colleagues. In 1910 he obtained the appointment of Persian Consul-General in Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Egypt as consul-general, and later became Persian Minister there until he returned to Tehran early in 1925. In 1925 he was appointed Director of the Russian and Turkish section in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Appointed Persian Minister in Rome in December 1928. Appointed Persian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. in February 1931. Was accredited also to Finland and Estonia as Minister in 1932. Recalled from Moscow in February 1934. Appointed Governor-General of Khorassan November 1934. Recalled and brought to Tehran under arrest on various charges of peculation and irregular conduct in February 1942 but was released without trial. Appointed ambassador to Italy late 1945. Left to take up appointment May 1946.

Speaks French fluently. Has a Russian wife who speaks fluent English.

112. Pirnia, Husain (Mutamin-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1875, the second son of the late Mushir-ed-Dowleh. Educated in France. After finishing his studies he returned to Persia in 1902, and became secretary to his father, who was then Minister for Foreign Affairs. Received his first Cabinet appointment in 1918 as Minister of Education. Was appointed a Minister without Portfolio in 1920. He has generally preferred a parliamentary to a ministerial career, and was elected to every term of the Majlis since its inception until the seventh term. To that term also he was elected, but refused to take his seat, as he did not consider the elections to have been held freely. He was chosen as president for the whole terms of the third and fourth Parliaments and for the greater part of the fifth term and for half of the sixth term, and he showed himself to be firm and impartial.

Has not come back to politics since the fall of Reza Shah, though he is often mentioned in terms of extravagant praise as the most honest man, if not the only honest man, in Persia. He refused to form a Government on the fall of the Qavam-es-Saltaneh Government in February 1943, in spite of the insistent request of the Deputies; and similarly refused to be head of the Committee of Supervision for the Tehran elections to the Majlis in 1943. Elected for Tehran 1944 but refused to take his seat.

Has property in Tehran. Wealthy. Not interested in politics; is influential and respected. Religious and anti-foreign. Has retired from public life but force of circumstances may bring him back. Head of the Pirnia family.

113. Pishavari, Mir Jafar

Born in Tabriz 1894 but is little known there, having spent most of his life in Tehran and elsewhere. Was imprisoned in Tehran as a Bolshevik in the time of Reza Shah. Edited Left-wing newspaper *Ajir* and in 1944 went to Tabriz for the elections for the 14th Majlis and his candidature was supported in every possible way by the Russians but his credentials were subsequently rejected by the Majlis. Founded the "Demokrat" party in Tabriz in September 1945 and was elected "Prime Minister" of the autonomous Azerbaijan "Government" in December 1945. In this capacity came to Tehran in April 1946 to negotiate with the Central Government about the future of the autonomous republic which has been created in Azerbaijan. Fled to Russia when Persian troops entered Azerbaijan in 1946.

114. Purcali, Abul-Qasim

Born in Tehran about 1896. Educated in Tehran at the School of Political Science. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1921. A judge in the Foreign Office Tribunal from 1922 to 1924. Second secretary at Brussels 1925-27. First secretary at Rome 1927-30. Transferred to the Department of Commerce in 1931, and employed there as chief of the Import Permits section. In 1933 chief of the Passport and Nationality section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1934 appointed counsellor at Berlin. Consul-general, Hamburg, 1938. Head of Personnel Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, April 1939.

Head of the second section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which deals with Iraq and Turkey, 1942. Minister at Berne 1944.

Married to a German lady.

Speaks French. A voluble little man, who has a great idea of his own importance, and has never gone out of his way to give us any help.

115. Qadimi, Dr. Husain

Born in Tehran 1895. The second son of the late Asadullah Ghadimi, Mushar-es-Saltaneh. Educated in France, and holds a doctor's degree. Attaché at Paris 1918-21. Married to a French lady. At the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1922-23. Secretary at Berne and for the League of Nations 1924-28. Chief of the League of Nations and Treaty Section of the Ministry 1929-32. Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm 1932. Counsellor at Berne 1936. Director of the League of Nations Section of the Advisory Department of the Ministry, 1937, and of the League of Nations Department, when that section was raised to a department in September 1938. Minister at Berne 1941-44.

Speaks perfect French. A very efficient man at his job.

116. Qajar, Abul Fath (Salar-ud-Daulah)

Born the 1st November, 1881, the third son of Muzaffar-ud-Din Shah. Governor of Kermanshah in 1897; of Zinjan in 1899 and 1900, and of Arabistan from 1901 to 1904, where he married the daughter of a local chief. Fled from Tehran to Luristan in April 1904, but was brought back and appointed Governor of Kurdistan in 1905.

Collected tribesmen from Luristan and rebelled against Muhammad Ali Shah in June 1907. A fight occurred in that month between his followers and the Shah's troops outside Nihavend. He was defeated and took refuge at the British consulate at Kermanshah, but was handed over to the Persian authorities under a promise of personal safety.

Thereafter he was placed under surveillance and was considered mentally deranged. Expelled to Europe after *coup d'Etat* of 1908.

Entered Persia again in May 1911 from the direction of Bagdad. In the following July he seized the capital of Kurdistan and advanced on Kermanshah. Having arrived there he collected a large force of Lurs, including the Kalhur tribe, and marched on Tehran via Sultanabad. Bakhtiari and Armenian irregulars were sent against him and inflicted a severe defeat on him near Nubaran in September 1911. He then retreated to Luristan and was again defeated in November 1911.

Having been at large in Kermanshah and Kurdistan for some time, he suddenly appeared near Tehran and threatened, but did not actually attack, the capital. He then betook himself to Asterabad whence, with the assistance of Russian influence, he carried on negotiations with the Persian Government to be appointed Governor of Gilan. After some further adventures he was persuaded to leave Persia with a pension from the Persian Government and resided in Switzerland till 1918.

In that year he formed a project to enter Persia through Transcaucasia and raise a revolt in the Asterabad district. He was caught by a British detachment in about December 1918 before crossing the Persian frontier, and was sent via Kazvin to Bagdad where he was interned till the following autumn, when he was again allowed to return to Switzerland.

He slipped over the Iraq-Persian frontier in June 1926 somehow avoiding the Iraq police authorities. His presence caused considerable embarrassment to the new Pahlavi Government who realised that Salar, however mad, was a possible rallying point for the forces of reaction. However, after fruitless negotiations with various Kurdish chiefs, during which he contracted marriage with the daughters of some of them, he left Persia in the autumn of 1926. The Persian Government from that date paid him a subsidy of 1,500 rials per month from secret funds up to September 1933. Salar was persuaded to settle down at Haifa after having given an ambiguous promise to behave himself. On the cessation of his subsidy in 1933 he was informed by British authorities that he was free to do what he liked. In 1935 living at Alexandria, where he has employed lawyers to press his claims against His Majesty's Government.

Speaks French. Scatter-brained and under-sized. Still reported to be at Alexandria 1945; has not attempted to return to Persia after Reza Shah's fall; but his two sons, who have been living in penury at Tehran for many years, are trying to get back some of the family properties.

117. Qaraguzlu, Ali Riza (Baha-ul-Mulk)

Born about 1880. Owns property at Hamadan, and is a cousin of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk. Has lived in Europe for a number of years and is a graduate of the School of Political Sciences of Paris. Elected to the fourth Majlis as member for Hamadan. Appointed Minister of Finance in 1923, though he had held no Government office before. Resigned in April 1923, as he found that he was controlled by Dr. Millspaugh. President of the Government Supervisory Board of the National Bank of Persia 1929-32.

Minister of Justice in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942; resigned in the following January without having accomplished anything valuable. An honest politician, but much too old to learn anything new or useful. Lives in Tehran; used frequently to visit Paris. A queer and eccentric man, with a reputation for honesty.

118. Qaraguzlu, Husain Ali

Second and younger son of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk, Regent of Persia. Born in 1900. Educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford. Married the daughter of Teymourache in 1931; and divorced her in 1935. An attaché at the Legation in London 1931. In the same capacity at Paris 1932. Returned to Tehran at the end of that year, and since employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, at first in the Treaty Department, and from the end of 1936 in the Protocol Department. Transferred to the Ministry of Interior at the end of 1937.

Resigned from Government service in 1938 and took to chicken farming. After the fall of Reza Shah was not employed in Government service until he became secretary to Dr. Millspaugh at the end of 1942; and in May 1943 was employed at Court, his brother-in-law, Ala, being Minister of Court.

Charming but ineffective; his failure to fulfil his early promise has been a disappointment, but a believer in Anglo-Persian co-operation. An idealist with a certain intelligence and a reputation for honesty.

Speaks perfect English and French.

119. Nizam-Qaraguzlu, Husain Quli (Amir Nizam)

Born in 1883, the eldest son of the late Amir Nizam. A member of the Qaraguzlu family of Hamadan and a nephew of the late Regent, Nasir-ul-Mulk. Educated in England and Austria. Passed through the Military Academy at Vienna, and served with a commission in an Austrian infantry regiment for three years. Inherited large estates from his father in the district of Hamadan, but owing to his absence in Europe from 1921 to 1929 these estates have been allowed to deteriorate. Was appointed Governor of Kermanshah by Vossuq in 1919, where he was very popular on account of his honesty and integrity. Being a rich man he was imprisoned at the time of the *coup d'Etat* in 1921, and made to pay 20,000 tomans as the price of his release. He was so disgusted at this unmerited treatment that he left Persia and vowed never to return. During his stay in Europe he lost heavily at Monte Carlo and Deauville. Teymourache met him in Europe in 1928, and persuaded him to return to Persia, which he did in 1929. Appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies at the Court in March 1929. Sent to Europe on private business for the Shah in March 1930 and returned at the end of December.

A reputation for honesty saved him from sharing his friend Teymourache's fall. Grand Master of Court Ceremonies (Foreign) 1938. Dismissed owing to royal irritability during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations in April 1939, and retired to his estate at Kabud-Rahang, near Hamadan.

An extremely agreeable and likeable man, with more than a veneer of European culture. Is the best type of educated Persian, and is noted for his honesty and integrity. Speaks fluently French, German and English.

Is tremendously rich with ample investments abroad. Devotes much time and energy to improving the lot of his peasants. Obstinate, but great force of character and personality. Has great influence in Hamadan area where he is looked on as experienced, wise and good. Honest, hard working and pro-British. In June 1945 bequeathed all his lands to his peasants and distributed copies of the will among them. Appointed the British Embassy and the Imperial Bank of Iran as two of the executors.

120. Qashqai, Muhammad Nasir

Born 1904. The eldest son of the late Isma'il Qashqai (Saulat-ud-Dauleh). Elected to the eighth Majlis as a member of the Qashqai, Ilkhani and the most influential chieftain of his tribe for a short time during 1930. Deprived of parliamentary immunity and arrested for conspiracy in 1932. Fled from Tehran during the general disorder in September 1941 and recovered his old position in Fars where he is now the accepted but not entirely undisputed leader of the Qashqai. Is the only one of the four brothers who is married. Does not smoke or drink and is a model family man. Tall, broadly built, staring eyes, slight smallpox marks on face, of commanding presence. A fast talker and a good raconteur. Fond of town society and, when living in civilised surroundings, is very reasonable and amenable. When living with the tribes he seems to lose his balance (where matters outside the parochial affairs of the tribes are concerned) and to be easily misled. This instability probably results from his varied earlier experiences including imprisonment in Tehran with his father who died in captivity.

Until the summer of 1945, when he eventually screwed up courage to come to Tehran, he seems to have been generally in fear of re-imprisonment. His anxiety to consolidate his position leads him, at the prompting of others, to see in himself a future Governor-General of Fars, Prime Minister and even Shah of Persia.

Speaks a little English and understands much. He had two Germans with him in 1943 and made a landing ground, intended for German aeroplanes, near Farrashband. He rebelled in 1943 and was attacked by troops under Marshal Shahbakhti but the operations were very half-hearted and soon fizzled out. In April 1944 he handed over the Germans who had taken refuge with him and undertook to co-operate with the Allies. Was a leader of a tribal revolt in Fars in summer of 1946 in which his brothers also took part. After some fighting the Qashqais came to an understanding with the Government and peace was restored.

One of his brothers, Muhammad Hussain, was a Deputy in the fourteenth Majlis, for Abadeh. Studied in England but left because of chronic asthma and studied economics at Berlin University. Voluble speaker and very excitable, unreliable and not to be trusted.

Khusru, another brother, is the youngest son of Saulat-ud-Dauleh and was born in 1921. The reprobate of the family. Great personal bravery and recklessness. Inherits his father's cruelty and sadism: credited with a number of wanton killings. Was appointed Governor of Firuzabad in November 1943 but is never at his post, preferring to make frequent trips to Tehran. Made large sums of money by selling monopoly goods destined for the tribes at an enormous profit in the open market. Has personal charm, considerable powers of persuasion and a boundless capacity for making mischief. Is generally described as a "child" which is intended by some in excuse of his excesses and by others to mean that it is time he grew up.

The fourth brother, Malik Mansur, was born in 1907 and studied at Reading University. Tall and lithe, hawk-like appearance, very attractive personality, talks much but slowly and tends to repeat himself. Speaks good English, German and a little French, Turkish and Turki. Reported to be loved by the tribespeople where Nasir is feared. Devoted to tribal pursuits of hunting and riding. Says that he will do his utmost to oppose any Government attempt at interference with the tribe and that he is prepared to fight the army.

121. Qawam, Ibrahim (Qawam-ul-Mulk)

Born 1888. The son of Murza Habibullah Khan Qawam-ul-Mulk, who was killed accidentally in May 1916. During the war of 1914-18 was very friendly to us, and carried on his father's traditional policy of opposition to the powerful Qashqai group of tribes headed by the late Isma'il Khan Soulat-ud-Douleh. Having inherited vast properties in Fars from his father, as well as the titular headship of the "Arab" tribes of that province, he wielded immense authority in the south of Persia at the time of the *coup d'Etat* of 1921. Reza Khan (late Reza Shah) when Minister for War met the Qawam at Isfahan in August 1923 and expressed a wish that he should reside at Tehran; he therefore became elected to the Majlis as member for the Khamseh (Arab) tribes and thereafter has resided a good deal in Tehran. Always on terms of close friendship with His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz, the Qawam engaged in 1926 a British agricultural expert to develop his vast estates; the experiment proved a failure through local opposition and the Qawam's stinginess; the British expert left in 1928. In 1929 fled to Europe, doubtless having foreseen the Qashqai revolts of that year. Visited London 1929. Returned to Tehran the following year, having put his two boys to school at Beirut. His vast properties were left in the hands of his servants, who remitted him a monthly subvention. In 1929 various questions of validity of title to property were raised by the Ministry of Finance; and in 1931 the whole question was settled by the exchange of lands. The Qawam was given crown lands in Nishapur, in the neighbourhood of Tehran, and elsewhere in the centre of Persia, in exchange for his Fars properties. It is believed that he did well out of these transactions, and that he is one of the wealthiest landowners of Persia at present.

In the fifth Majlis of 1933 he was a Deputy for Baluchistan. He had also accompanied Reza Shah on several of his journeys, and was generally supposed to enjoy His Majesty's full confidence. In November 1933, however, on the arrest of the Minister of War, Sardar Asad, while in attendance on the Shah at the Turcoman races, the Qawam seems to have become the object of suspicion, and he was placed under arrest with Asad.

He is an attractive personality to meet. Very pro-British in sentiment, he sent his two sons (Ali Muhammad Qawam and Muhammad Reza Qawam) to England to be educated. Until his arrest he appeared to have settled down permanently as a peaceful courtier at Tehran. Quiet in voice and retiring in manner, he is yet capable of driving a very hard bargain with his own countrymen. He does not appear to have much ambition. Though his name is still a household word at Shiraz, he cannot be considered a tribal leader in the sense that the Qashqai chiefs are; he is best considered as a Persian noble whose family had for some time held suzerainty over a group of tribes and who attained great wealth and influence in Fars, partly through backing the right side in the 1914 war.

His son, Ali Muhammad, married Princess Ashraf Pahlavi in March 1937 but the marriage was dissolved. He subsequently married a girl of the Sheibani family, daughter of Muhasib-ul-Mamalik. He had previously been an undergraduate at Bristol where he did badly. The other son, Reza, married a daughter of General Muqaddam: one daughter is married to Asadullah Alam son of the late Shaokat-ul-Mulk and the other to Dr. Abul Qasim Nafisi.

Played his part in the "events of 1941"; he and his family at one time "took bast" in the

British Legation at Gulhek; and when Reza Shah abdicated and went to Isfahan it was Qawam who was sent by the Government to obtain Reza's signature to documents handing over his properties and private fortune to the State and to his son respectively.

Visited India 1941-42 and bought a house at Bangalore.

Sent back to Shiraz to help Marshal Shahbakhti with his attack on the Qashqais in June 1943.

His elder son, Ali Muhammad, went to Washington as Assistant Military Attaché at the end of 1941.

Appointed Governor-General of Fars September 1943, but could not agree with any of the military chiefs about tribal policy, and returned to Tehran November 1943. He still enjoys considerable influence in Fars but resides generally in Tehran. The general tendency among his own family, whose obedience but not consciences he commands, is to regard him with the utmost respect as the survival of a day that is gone. He himself does not seem to be conscious of, or will not admit, this passage of time. His elder son, Ali Muhammad, has now returned from Washington.

122. Qavam, Ahmad (Qavam-us-Saltanah)

A brother of Hassan Vossuq, than whom he is younger by a few years. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Became Minister of War, July to October 1910, and Minister of Interior, July to November 1911, and again in December 1911. Minister of Finance, July to August 1914, and Minister of Interior, November 1917 to January 1918. Appointed Governor-General of Khorassan April 1918 and remained there for three years, during which he administered the province with uniform success during troublous times. Became Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, June 1921 to January 1922, and again Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs from June 1922 to February 1923. Banished to Europe in October 1923, being accused of having plotted against the life of Reza Khan (Reza Shah). Was allowed to return to Tehran at the end of 1928 and arrived in March 1929, when he went to reside quietly on his property at Lahijan near Resht.

Came back to live in Tehran after the fall of Reza Shah. Prime Minister, August 1942, after the fall of Sobhly. Worked hard, but gradually surrounded himself with his own relations and friends. Tried hard to gain control of the Ministry of War, but failed to counteract the young Shah's enthusiasm for the control of the army. The Shah's opposition to him was shown in the disturbances of the 8th December 1942, in which Qavam did extremely well and undoubtedly performed a great public service in re-establishing governmental authority. Thereafter, however, he became more and more involved in petty intrigues and favouritism, and had to resign in February 1943; since when he has been more or less openly accused of being the real instigator of the riots of December 1942.

Believed to have been in touch with the Japanese Legation early in 1942, and to have received, when Prime Minister in 1942, messages from persons whom he knew to be German agents, without informing us. This was brought to the notice of the Shah in January 1944.

Became Prime Minister in February 1946 with additional offices of Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. His policy was to seek reconciliation with the Soviet Government. For this purpose he went to Moscow in February 1946.

Responsible for the arrest of Sayyid Zia and General Arfa in March 1946, probably at Russian

insistence. In April 1946 concluded an agreement with the Russians granting them an oil concession in the north, to be presented for approval to the fifteenth Majlis. Submitted to Russian pressure to settle the Azerbaijan problem by conciliatory methods in return for which the Red army was withdrawn early in May. During his first year of office he destroyed the autonomous régime of the Azerbaijan Democrats, broke up the Tudeh Party and their affiliated trade unions and established the Iran Democrat Party with which he won a big majority in the general election held in 1947.

Sly, intriguing, ambitious and fond of money but of great experience and competence. He is a genuine patriot and has generally been friendly to His Majesty's Embassy.

123. Qubadian, Abbas (Amir Makhsus)

Born about 1900, son of Daud Khan, first paramount chief of the Kalhurs. Suspected of being pro-German in 1917-18 when Turks and Germans occupied Western Persia. Seized power in the tribe after the murder of Sulaiman Amir A'zam by Pasha Khan, Qubadian's brother, in 1922. He led a revolt against him, was captured and imprisoned. Vain and obstinate, he is at loggerheads the whole time with most of his own family. Deputy for Kermanshah in the fourteenth Majlis. In early 1946 succeeded in forming a union of the western tribes to combat the Tudeh and the Democrats in Kurdistan. Re-elected to fifteenth Majlis for Kermanshah.

124. Quds, Husain

Born about 1892. Graduate of the Tehran School of Political Science. Has held various posts under the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and was secretary in London for five years. Edited, for a short time, a small literary review. Private secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs 1934. Secretary and, for a time, Chargé d'Affaires at Washington 1935, until relations were broken off. Accused of having abused customs franchise while in charge at Washington. Secretary in London March 1937. Consul, Izmir, 1939. Counsellor in London early 1943.

Speaks English and French. A quiet and level-headed official.

125. Radmanish, Dr. Riza

Born about 1900. In 1938 he was arrested by Riza Shah for making Communist propaganda. Elected Deputy for Lahijan in the 14th Majlis. Has been a prominent member of the Tudeh party and the Tudeh Majlis group since its foundation and was a dominating member of the Tudeh party General Party Conference in 1944. Edits Left-wing paper *Mardum*. One of six editors invited by the Ministry of Information to visit the United Kingdom in the autumn of 1945, but did not accept. A genuine Communist who is not best pleased with the complete subservience of the Tudeh party to the Russians but unable to help himself. Rather naïve.

126. Rahnema, Zain-ul-Abadin

Born about 1888, one of the sons of the late Sheikh-ul-Iraqain, a Persian subject and small mujtehid of Kerbela.

Rahnema was educated in Iraq and came to Persia about 1910. He was a member of the Democratic party and edited first the newspaper *Rahnema* and subsequently the semi-official paper *Iran*. He was elected a Deputy to the fifth and sixth terms of the Majlis. Was sent to Europe in 1923 on a mission to "boom" Persia, and stayed

most of the time in Paris. Was appointed Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Public Works at the end of 1926 and Under-Secretary to the Minister of the Interior in April 1927. In June 1927 he fell from favour and confined himself to journalism, and accompanied the Shah on his journey to Khuzistan in October 1928 as press representative.

Rahnema is an ambitious man, with plenty of "push." His great ambition has always been to obtain a Government post, which he hoped would culminate in a ministerial appointment. With that object in view, he discarded his turban and gave up his title of "sheikh." This brought him three different under-secretaryships in succession. He is intelligent and clever in a certain sense.

Went to Europe in 1933 to purchase printing machinery. In the summer of 1935 was exiled to Iraq and took up his residence in Beirut; the Shah was said to have suspected him of plotting against the régime.

Returned to Persia after the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, and resumed his editorship of the newspaper *Iran*. On a mission to the ulama of Iraq in 1942, and brought back certain messages addressed to the young Shah. Plunged into political intrigue in 1942 and after being disappointed at not being accepted by the Iraq Government as Minister, became a sort of secretary and spy in Soheily's administration in 1943, but soon resigned. Minister in Paris 1944. In February 1945 made a nuisance of himself to the military authorities in the British Zone of occupied Germany, by consistently ignoring all arrangements made for him when he was granted permission to enter the zone to examine the credentials of a number of persons claiming to be Persian, and by misusing the recommendation given to him by the British Military Mission in Paris to receive accommodation for himself and his unnecessarily large suite and to commandeer the German broadcasting network to summon all Persian subjects to report to him. The Mission in Paris decided that no further help was to be given to him. Appointed Minister in Beirut February 1947.

Speaks French and English.

127. *Rais, Muhsin*

Born in Tehran about 1895. Educated in Persia and France. The eldest son of the late Zahir-ul-Mulk. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1919. Sent to Switzerland as secretary of the Persian delegation to the League of Nations. Returned to Persia in 1924, and served in the Ministry till he was sent to Paris as counsellor in 1930. Head of the Treaty Section of the Ministry in 1933. Minister at Berlin and The Hague 1935. Political Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, September 1937. Minister at Bucharest for Roumania, Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, December 1938.

Transferred to Vichy in 1941, and returned in July 1942 to Tehran. Minister in Bagdad July 1943. Ambassador to London June 1947.

A very agreeable man, not afraid of hard work. Speaks good French. Married one of the many daughters of Farman Farma in 1935.

128. *Razmara, Haji Ali, Major-General (Sarlashgar)*

Trained in France, at Saint-Cyr. Born about 1900. Related to the Kemal-Hedayat family. Joined the army and commanded a regiment in 1931. Military Governor of the Khamseh tribes 1931. Commanded operations against the Kurdish insurrection of Janfar Sultan 1932. General Officer Commanding First Tehran Division October 1941. Chief of the

General Staff July 1943; relieved by Riazi September 1943. Director of the Shah's Military Secretariat October 1943.

He was dismissed from the post of Chief of General Staff at the end of 1944. Re-attached to General Staff in March 1946. In July 1946 he was reappointed Chief of the General Staff, even though the Shah two months previously had expressed extreme distrust of him. Since that date he has successfully ingratiated himself with the Royal master.

An able, energetic but corrupt officer with a reputation as a disciplinarian: in fact he is said to have killed a man on parade for insubordination. Very ambitious and a great intriguer, and trims his sails to any wind. An unprincipled adventurer. Speaks some English.

129. *Sadiq, Dr. Issa (Sadiq-i-A'lam)*

Born about 1892. Educated partly in England (where he was for a time munshi to Professor Browne) and partly in America, where he took a doctor's degree. Began his career in a very lowly station in the Ministry of Education. Rose to be Director of Education in Gilan. Attended an international congress on education in England about 1929, where he lectured on modern educational methods in Persia. Principal of the Teachers' College (Ecole normale) 1932.

Minister of Public Instruction in Feroughi's Cabinet September 1941. On the resignation of that Cabinet in 1942 became dean of the University of Tehran. Again Minister of Education in Subaili's reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. Minister of Education in Bayat's Government of November 1944. As chairman of Tehran Telephone Company went to the United Kingdom to buy equipment for the Company in 1947.

An intelligent and go-ahead man speaking English and French. Well disposed towards Anglo-Saxon methods of education. The author of several works on education.

130. *Sadiqi, Abul Hasan*

Born about 1900, son of a wealthy landowner who was many years a Deputy for Tabriz. Abul Hasan has long service in the National Bank, mostly in Tehran: Deputy for Tabriz in the fourteenth Majlis. He contributed 150,000 rials to the Tudeh for their election support but is not in sympathy with them. Well-educated with a good knowledge of economic affairs. At one time was under German influence. On the Russian list of candidates for election to the Majlis in 1943. Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Roads May 1946 and in June 1946 a member of the delegation under Muzaffar Firuz, which went to Tabriz to seek an understanding with the Azerbaijani Democrats. Acting Director-General of the State Railways October 1946 and Minister of Roads and Communications in Qavam-ul-Saltaneh's Cabinet October 1946. Resigned December 1946; elected to fifteenth Majlis.

131. *Sadiqi, Sadiq (Mustashar-ud-Daulah)*

Born about 1865. Educated at Constantinople. Was a secretary at the Persian Embassy in Turkey for many years. Elected a Deputy for Tabriz, his native town, to the first Majlis in 1906. Elected President of the second Majlis in 1909. An ardent Constitutionalist he was arrested by Muhammad Ali Shah in 1908 and imprisoned until January 1909. Elected a member of the committee which was convened to draw up the Electoral Law. Appointed Minister of Interior in 1911, Minister of Posts in 1914 and 1915, and again Minister of Interior in 1915 and in June 1917. In the following Cabinet he was a Minister without portfolio.

Before the war of 1914-18 he was pro-Russian, but when war broke out he espoused the cause of Germany and Turkey, and was one of the most extreme of "enemy partisans." After the war His Majesty's Legation demanded that he be exiled to some outlying province of Persia. From that time, with the exception of a short period in 1921 when he was a Cabinet Minister without portfolio, he lived a retired life and had little or no influence.

Appointed Persian Ambassador to Turkey in January 1931. Returned to Tehran on retirement at the end of 1935.

Minister without portfolio in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942, and continued in that capacity, with vague duties, in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. Highly respected and considered a wit, but almost useless and senile. Dropped from Soheily's Cabinet December 1943.

Proposed Governor-General of Eastern and Western Azerbaijan, should agreement be reached between autonomous Azerbaijan "Government" and Central Government. Took part in discussions with Mission from Azerbaijan which came to Tehran April 1946 but with no official status.

Speaks French and Turkish.

132. *Sadr, Sayyid Muhsin (Sadr-ul-Ashraf)*

Born about 1873. An almost unknown person in Tehran politics until appointed Minister of Justice in Feroughi's Cabinet of the 7th September, 1933. Spent the whole of his previous service in various judicial posts under the Ministry of Justice. Has been president of the Court of Cassation. One of the old school, who looks much better in the turban than in a hat. Was responsible for some of the new sections of the Civil Code. Resigned September 1936.

Bitterly attacked in connexion with a water dispute at Qum 1942. Looked upon as an elder statesman and one of the senior members of the Majlis 1943.

Minister of Justice in Soheily's Cabinet of 1943. Said to have been one of the pro-German "Kabud" party in 1942.

Became Prime Minister on the 6th June, 1945. Resigned October 1945. During his period of office he was bitterly attacked by all Left-wing elements and accused of being a reactionary. Did his best to resist Soviet encroachment on Northern Persia, but the pressure was too strong and he was replaced by Hakimi who was less unpopular with the Russians.

133. *Sadri, Abdul Ali (Saliq-us-Saltanah)*

Born in Tabriz about 1886. Son of the late Sadr-ed-Douleh. Entered the court of Muzaffar-ed-Din Shah when quite young and was appointed a chamberlain. Attached to the court for many years. Imperial Commissioner of the Persian Government to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company 1905-18. Persian Minister in Washington 1919-21. Minister in Berlin 1924-25. Minister in London 1926-27. Lived in Europe for five years after that, returned to Persia in 1932.

Speaks French and English. An intriguer, whose reputation is not of the best. His recall from London was said to be due to the Shah's suspicions that he had friendly relations with the Sheikh of Mohammerah. A relation of the late Qavam-ed-Douleh. His brother, Farid Sadri (Farid-es-Saltaneh) is a well-known adventurer, who makes his living by his wits, making himself out to be a fabulously wealthy Persian prince; in this way he married an Englishwoman and deserted her after getting her money.

In Germany 1942 and 1943, but returned to Tehran December 1943.

134. *Sa'id, Muhammad (Said-ul-Vizareh)*

Born about 1885. Educated in the Caucasus. Served in various capacities in the Persian consular posts in the Caucasus: viz., at Baku, Tiflis and Batumi. Acting consul-general at Baku in 1927. Head of the Russian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1933. Appointed *Chargé d'Affaires* at Moscow in February 1934. Minister at Rome June 1936. Accredited also to Hungary, 1938. Ambassador at Moscow, April 1938.

A very agreeable official, whose Russian is better than his Persian. He must have an intimate knowledge of the Caucasus and of Soviet methods of administration. He has a handsome Latvian wife. Always willing to help. Appears to have no delusions about Russia.

Recalled from Moscow to be Minister for Foreign Affairs in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet August 1942. Held the post in Soheily's Cabinet of February 1943. In the running for Prime Minister, being favoured for that post by the Shah 1943, but the Majlis would not agree.

Appointed Prime Minister in March 1944. Resigned on the 10th November, 1944. After Kavtaradze's arrival he was persistently opposed by the Tudeh and the Russians and was thus able to do little during his tenure of office. His Government's rejection in October 1944 of the Russian demand for an oil concession brought about a crisis which resulted in Sa'id's resignation.

135. *Sajjadi, Muhammad*

Born in 1899 in Tehran. Son of a Mulla. Employed in the Ministry of Justice by the late Davar and later transferred to the Customs as Acting Director-General 1934. Then employed in the Tobacco Monopoly until 1937, when he became Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Communications. Acting Minister of Communications on Ahi's dismissal in November 1938.

Minister of Roads in Ferugi's Cabinet of September 1941 and then head of the Tehran Municipality in 1942. Arrested and sent to Sultanabad by the Allied security authorities September 1943. Released at end of war 1939-45.

Director of the Exchange Control Department in the Ministry of Finance in Hakimi's Government of November 1945. Resigned November 1945.

Spent several years in France and speaks French. A talkative and clever man, with a rather attractive air of buffoonery, but superficial. Married his brother's wife.

136. *Salih, Allayar*

Graduate of the American College at Tehran. Born about 1900. For some years employed as a secretary in the American Legation at Tehran. He then entered the Ministry of Justice, where he held various appointments as judge, public prosecutor, &c. Was transferred to the Ministry of Finance through the influence of Davar, and appointed director of the opium monopoly, and afterwards director of the tobacco monopoly.

Head of the customs for a short time. Then accountant-general.

An intelligent and able man. Speaks French and English.

Sent to Washington on an economic mission 1941. Returned in the autumn of 1942 to be Minister of Finance in the hope that he would work well with Dr. Millsbaugh, but he proved a disappointment, quarrelled with Dr. Millsbaugh, and was allowed to resign by Soheily in March 1943.

Sent on a Commercial Mission to India September 1943.

Member of the Persian Delegation to San Francisco and spent some time in London on his way back to Persia. Minister of the Interior in Hakimi's Cabinet, November 1945 to January 1946 when he dismissed Ghulam Hussain Ibtihaj, the pro-Sayyid Zia Mayor of Tehran and replaced him by Nariman, as being more acceptable to the Russians.

In Hakimi's Cabinet he was regarded as the leader of the appeasement group. Is said to have the ear of the American Embassy where his brother is a Munshi. Minister of Justice August 1946; resigned October 1946.

137. Sami'i, Husain (*Adib-us-Saltaneh*)

Born about 1878, a native of Resht. Spent his early career in the Ministry of Interior and was once Governor of Resht. Appointed Minister of Public Works 1921 to June 1922. In March 1923 he became Minister of Interior for three months. When the present Shah became Prime Minister in October 1923, Sami'i was chosen as his assistant, until, in August 1924, he was appointed Minister of Justice. Early in 1926 he was appointed Governor of Tehran and held that post until he was appointed Minister of Interior in June 1927. Appointed Governor-General of Azerbaijan in May 1931. Grand Master of Ceremonies (Internal), 1938. Dismissed during the Crown Prince's wedding celebrations, April 1939. Ustandar (Governor-General) of the IVth Ustan (Western Azerbaijan), July 1939.

Ambassador to Kabul 1939. Returned to Tehran July 1942 and became Minister of State, without portfolio, in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942. Appointed Minister of the Interior by Soheily in July 1943, ostensibly in order to supervise the elections to the 14th Majlis, but he soon resigned. President of the Farhangistan (Academy) at Tehran 1943. Grand Master Ceremonies 1943.

Went to Russia at invitation of Soviet Government for anniversary of Science Academy in Tashkend 1945.

Sami'i is a pleasant man, but of little influence. He is not very energetic nor highly intelligent. He speaks no foreign language.

138. Sanjabi, Kerim

Born 1904, near Kermanshah; a member of one of the principal families of the well-known Sanjabi tribe. In 1920 came to Tehran for study and completed the courses at the Political and Law Schools at Tehran. 1928 went to France and spent three years in Paris and three in the provinces. Doctor of Law of Paris. In 1934 returned to Persia, and served in the Religious Endowment Department of the Ministry of Education, and also taught law. 1940 head of the statistical department of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed in 1943 professor of law at the Tehran University. Promoted head of Law Faculty 1944.

139. Sayyah, Hamid

Born in Isfahan 1886. Brother of Humayun Sayyah. Educated at Moscow. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1916. For some time a judge in the Tribunal of the Ministry. Commercial secretary at Moscow 1922-26. A director of the Caspian Fisheries Joint Board 1927-31. Chief of the Russian section at the Ministry in 1932. In charge of the Eastern Department, 1933. Consul-general at Beirut, March 1934. Minister at Warsaw, June 1936.

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Feroughi's Cabinet of September 1941, and was most helpful

to us. Again Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in Qavam-es-Saltaneh's Cabinet of August 1942 until January 1943. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs again December 1943. Minister of Communications in Sa'id's Cabinet March-August 1944. Accompanied Qavam to Moscow in February 1946. Appointed minister to Moscow March 1946. Returned October 1946 and became Minister of Commerce and Industry.

Speaks French and Russian. Married his cousin, Fatimeh Khanum Sayyah, but afterwards divorced her. An agreeable but not a brilliant personality. He knows too much about Russian methods ever to incline towards bolshevism. A good bridge player.

140. Sayyah, Kazim

Born about 1892. A family of Turkish descent, sometimes calling themselves Sayyah-Sipanlou, and not related to Hamid Sayyah. Served in the Turkish army in the 1914-18 war, and taken prisoner by the British troops 1917. Then employed in the Caucasus where he had various adventures in 1920 and 1921. A strong supporter of Seyyid Zia in the latter's *coup d'Etat* of 1921, and when the Seyyid fell he fled with him to Switzerland. Returned to Persia about 1923 and was imprisoned by Reza Shah for some time. Then employed under the Ministry of Industry in supervising the factories at Isfahan. Was also in charge of the Fine Arts Department at that place 1940 to 1942. Fell under suspicion as pro-German owing to his relations with the factory engineers, most of whom were Germans. Transferred to Tehran 1942 and put in charge of the glycerine factory. In 1943 employed by the Americans in the price stabilisation section of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed "Rais-i-Intizam" or head of the organisation section of the Ministry of Interior 1944. Kazim Sayyah is well known as a strong supporter of Sayyid Zia. His appointment as "Rais-i-Intizam," therefore, raised an outcry by all Left-wing elements and by those who favoured a policy of appeasement towards the Russians. Appointed one of the directors of the Tehran Electricity Company 1945.

A man of the world, capable of good work, and claims to be well-disposed towards us. Married to a Greek.

141. Shafai, Ismail

Born in Tehran about 1885. Educated in Persia and Russia. Joined the Cossack Brigade in 1910. Appointed chief of the arsenal in 1922. Visited Europe in 1923, and again in 1926, in connexion with the purchase of machinery for a new arsenal. Promoted brigadier-general March 1932. Went to Europe that year to purchase military stores. Ceased to control the arsenal in 1934 on going to Europe, where he remained, usually at Berne, as chief of the Arms Purchasing Commission until 1937, when he returned to Persia.

Speaks Russian and German.

Employed at Court 1943, and supervised the arms and powder factories; his services appear to have pleased the Russians.

Minister of Industry December 1943, but in coping with a strike had the misfortune accidentally to kill one of the strikers. Resigned March 1944. Military attaché to Moscow, September 1944. Returned with Qavam in February 1946.

An amiable and jolly old soldier. Is a Bahai.

142. Shahbakhti, General Muhammad

Born about 1882, the son of a peasant inhabiting the village of Ishtihar, near Tehran, but has now

been heard to describe himself as a native of Azerbaijan, possibly to cover up his humble origin.

He enlisted in the Cossack Brigade about 1901, distinguished himself by bravery in the field, and received a commission. In 1914 he was a captain. He attached himself to Reza Khan, whose influence with General Staff secured him promotion to the rank of colonel in 1919. After the *coup d'Etat* of 1921 he was appointed to command the Ahan regiment of infantry. In 1925 he was promoted general and given command of an infantry brigade in Tehran. In 1926 he was sent to command the western division, but was recalled in the spring of 1928 for corruption; he, however, managed to ingratiate himself with the Shah, and was appointed shortly afterwards to command the Persian troops in Kurdistan. In December 1928 he was sent to command the troops in Fars, but was superseded by General Shaibani.

Appointed to command the troops in Azerbaijan in 1932. Promoted to the rank of Amir Lashgar in March of that year. Transferred to Ahwaz as general officer commanding, January 1939.

Appointed commander of the western forces October 1941, with the rank of marshal (sipahbud). Controlled the Kermanshah area pretty thoroughly, ignoring completely the civil governor, till he was transferred to Fars to quell the Qashqais under Naser Qashqai in February 1943. He was not very successful in that campaign and after the defeat of the garrison at Semirum in July 1943 came to Tehran to report. In his old age he seems to have become more arrogant and unapproachable. Suspected of taking large bribes when at Kermanshah.

An almost entirely uneducated survival from the Cossack Brigade, resembling in appearance and manners the more famous product of that corps, Reza Shah.

Placed on retired list October 1943. Recalled to active list 1947.

143. Shaibani, General Habibullah

Born about 1885, the son of Nazim-Dowleh, who came of a middle-class family of Kashan.

In 1906 Shaibani went to Saint-Cyr, where he graduated in 1910 and joined a French regiment. Returned to Persia in 1913, and was commissioned into the Swedish officered gendarmerie as a captain. He was highly regarded by the Swedish officers, and was promoted major in 1914. He was strongly anti-Russian, and consequently anti-Ally, during the war, and he joined the Muhajerin (the pro-German party), and remained in Turkey until 1918, when he returned to Tehran and re-entered the gendarmerie. He appears to have made contact with Reza Khan about 1920, and was working in his interests before the *coup d'Etat*. Promoted colonel in 1921, he served in the operations against the Jangalis and against Simitko. Promoted general of brigade in 1922, and in 1923 went to France in charge of Persian military students. He entered the French Staff College and graduated with distinction in 1925. He attended the Arms Traffic Conference at the League as Persian representative in the autumn of 1925, and was very sore at the success of the British representative in getting the Persian Gulf included in the Maritime Zone. In 1926 he was appointed acting Chief of the General Staff. He resigned that appointment in March 1928 owing to his disagreement with certain orders issued by the Shah. Appointed Minister of Public Works in May 1928 until December, when he lost that appointment and was placed *en disponibilité*. Appointed a member of the High Military Council in January 1929. Promoted general of division in June 1929. He was sent to command the army in Fars to deal with the rebellion in that province. He was suc-

cessful in restoring order, as the Qashgai, although in a fighting mood, were short of munitions. In 1930 he commanded the operations in the Mamasenni district and against the Kuhgelus, and by October he had succeeded in reducing the Kuhgelus, only one of the khans still refusing to make his submission to the Government.

Tried by a military court-martial in the autumn of 1931, on a charge of military inefficiency in his 1930 operations against the Mamasenni and the Boir Ahmedi tribes, resulting in some 500 Persian casualties. Sentenced to two years' imprisonment and deprivation of all his ranks and dignities. He was released after a few months in prison, and is said to have gone abroad during 1935. Said to be either in Berlin or in Switzerland 1942.

Shaibani is a man of independent views, and is somewhat rigid and narrow-minded. He is a strict disciplinarian, and does not play to the gallery. His military ideas are conservative and sound, and he is perhaps the only French-trained officer who has not been led away from the realisation of realities. He regards Russia as the enemy of Persia; of the motives underlying British policy he has a fair understanding, and he thinks that Britain can and should help Persia in her own interests, but he believes that Britain will always sacrifice Persia if it should be in her interest to do so. He is intensely patriotic, and will stoutly oppose whatever he considers to be derogatory to Persian sovereignty or detrimental to Persian independence. At the same time he views with disfavour Persia's hasty efforts to play the rôle of a civilised nation. He is remarkably honest, direct in speech, and prompt in action. He has little sympathy with Persian officialdom. His nickname in the army is "Feranghi," not by reason of any imitation of Europeans, but rather because of the un-Persian nature of his character.

He speaks French fluently.

144. Shams-ul-Mulk Ara'i, Asadullah (*Shahab-ud-Daulah*), K.C.V.O.

A Qajar prince. Born about 1880. Educated in Persia. For many years employed in the Telegraph Department. Governor of Yazd in 1911. Minister of Posts and Telegraphs 1914-15. Minister of Public Works 1915. Master of Ceremonies at the Court 1922-25. Governor of Kermanshah 1929. Recalled 1933, and appointed Governor of Kurdistan in October 1934. Recalled April 1936, owing, it is said, to having incurred the displeasure of the Shah through not accelerating reforms in his province.

Holds the dignity of K.C.V.O., received when in attendance on Ahmed Shah during his visit to London in 1919.

Governor-General of Fars early 1942, but was superseded in the following summer, without having accomplished much. Governor-General of Kermanshah October 1946.

A rather pompous man, said to be a great intriguer; but he is not averse to the society of foreigners, and probably regrets the good old days.

Speaks English and French fluently.

145. Shayigan, Dr. Sayyid Ali

Born in Shiraz in 1904, a son of the late Haji Seyyid Hashim. Educated at the Tehran Law and Political School and in Paris (Doctor of Law). Professor of Civil Law 1940. Dean of Faculty of Law. Under-Secretary of State in Ministry of Education May 1946. Has helped the British Council with advice on law books. Minister of Education in Qavam-us-Saltaneh's Cabinet October 1946. Friendly but weak and impressionable.

146. *Shirvani, Abu Talib (Banan-es-Sultan).*

Born in Isfahan about 1890. Educated in the local schools, and also for two years at the Church Missionary School. Studied English, but cannot speak it well. Led a disreputable life in his youth, joining the famous brigand Riza Khan Jauzani; served also under another brigand, Mashallah Khan. Started the newspaper *Mihan* at Isfahan in 1919. On writing an article criticising Major Fazlullah Khan, the head of the gendarmerie, he was arrested and whipped by order of the major. In 1921 started the paper *Mihan* at Tehran. His paper was Nationalists and scurrilous. Published articles against the Sinclair Company in 1922, doubtless for a consideration. Deputy for Isfahan in the fifth and sixth Majlises. Interested in the Khourian Oil Company. Visited Moscow by invitation in 1927 on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Visited London December 1927. Became an advocate in the Tehran courts in 1927.

Came again into prominence on the fall of Reza Shah. Head of the Department of Propaganda 1942, but had to resign owing to hostile criticism in certain newspapers accusing him (with truth) of being a Christian. Has claims to land in Fars. Arrested in Isfahan September 1946 for complicity in tribal revolt in Fars; released November 1946.

An unprincipled intriguer, quite without scruple and quite untrustworthy.

147. *Siasi, Ali Akbar*

Born 1893. Educated in France 1911 and stayed in France till the outbreak of the 1914 war. Took a course in pedagogy. Employed as dragoman and Persian secretary at the French Legation from about 1917 to April 1941. At the same time he was instructor in psychology and law at the University of Tehran; later professor. Went to Europe 1927 and took a further course in France, obtaining a doctorate in philosophy. Married the daughter of the late Bayat, and so acquired wealth. One of the founders of the French-sponsored "Young Persian Club" in 1921.

Minister of Education, August 1942. Resigned from Soheily's Cabinet in August 1943. Dean of the University of Tehran. Minister without Portfolio in Bayat's Government 1944.

Member of Persian delegation to San Francisco Conference, March 1945. Visited United Kingdom after the conference.

Invited by Soviet Government to visit Tashkent for the twentieth anniversary of the Science Academy there, December 1945.

An intelligent man with a perfect command of French; his outlook is more French than Persian in some respects. Always polite and agreeable to talk to. Is also able to make a very good speech in English.

148. *Sipahbudi, Anushirvan*

Born in Tehran about 1890. Educated in Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1907 and worked there till 1910. Vice-consul at Vladikavkaz in 1910, and thereafter served at different posts in the Caucasus till 1918. Then chief of a section at the Ministry; in charge of the Protocol Department in 1926. Minister in Switzerland 1929-33. Under-Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, July 1933. At the beginning of 1934 made Minister at Rome, being accredited also to Vienna, Prague and Budapest. Ambassador at Moscow, June 1936, until April 1938. Minister, Paris, July 1938, and also accredited to Spain in June 1939.

Ambassador to Turkey 1940. Minister for Foreign Affairs June-October 1945. Minister for Justice in Qavam's Cabinet, February 1946. Ambassador in Paris August 1946.

A man of no particular family, he has made his way to the top while still young. Speaks French and Russian. Is quite well supplied with brains, but is often too lazy to use them. On friendly terms with Shah. Hates Russians.

149. *Sipikr, Ahmad Ali (Muzarrikhud-Daulah)*

In June 1942 he was mixed up in a German plot involving Qavam-us-Saltanah and Hussain Ali Qaraguzlu (not the same man as No. 132). Was Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of 1944. In February 1944 was Acting Minister of Commerce and Industry for a short while after the resignation of Nakahl. He was removed from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the summer of 1944 and remained without an appointment until August 1945 when he was appointed head of the Caspian Fisheries, a post which brought him into close touch with the Russians. Closely associated with Qavam-us-Saltanah and joined the Cabinet as Minister for Commerce and Industry in 1946. Dismissed from Cabinet and banished to Kashan July 1946. Permitted to return to Tehran December 1946.

An incorrigible intriguer and corrupt even by Persian standards.

150. *Suhaili, Ali*

Born about 1890. Educated partly in Russia and talks Russian well, also French and a little English. His career has been in various Government administrations. In January 1931 was appointed Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Roads and Communications under Kazimi. In September 1933 he was transferred to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs as Under-Secretary, when Kazimi was appointed Minister. Soheily had also served as chief Persian representative on the board of the Caspian Fisheries Directorate. Several times Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in the absence of his chief. Minister in London, March 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs, May 1938, but dismissed in July, owing to the late Shah's displeasure over a telegram concerning the Paris Exhibition. Ustadar (Governor-General) of the VIIIth Ustan (Kerman) February 1939. Ambassador, Kabul, October 1939.

Became Prime Minister, rather unexpectedly, in March 1942, after having been Minister for Foreign Affairs in Feroghi's Cabinet from September 1941 (during which time he was the Persian signatory of the Tripartite Treaty of February 1942). His Cabinet fell in July 1942, partly owing to lack of support from the Court and the army. Again Prime Minister on the fall of Qavam-us-Saltanah in February 1943, once more unexpectedly; this time it was largely because Mu'tamin-ul-Mulk could not stand and the Majlis did not want the Shah's candidate, Saed. Proved himself once more a hard worker, but carried little weight in the country and had to maintain himself by various "combinations" and political deals with Majlis Deputies.

A very reasonable, matter-of-fact person, with a businesslike manner. Hard working, and a good deal more approachable than some of his colleagues. In his contacts with this Legation he has always given the impression of his willingness to help and to arrive at a reasonable settlement. He is notoriously corrupt and has a well-deserved reputation of being a liar. He is quite prepared to agree to do anything but rarely keeps his word. During 1944-45 he was frequently a strong candidate for

the Premiership, but was suspected by many of being too well-disposed towards the Russians. Went to Egypt in the summer of 1945 and was made a member of the Persian delegation to U.N.O in January 1946.

Has a Caucasian wife with a "past" and is universally suspected of having taken a great many bribes.

151. *Sururi Muhammad*

Born about 1900. Served in various Government Departments, being one of the favoured young men selected by Davar, then Minister of Justice, when he revised the organisation of the Ministry in 1929. Has been judge in the Tehran courts, and Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice. Director of the Agricultural Bank 1942, but removed from that post June 1943. Posted to the Ministry of the Interior to look after it till Hajhir's return, January 1944. Minister of Interior in Sa'id's Cabinet of August 1944 and again in Bayat's Cabinet in November 1944-June 1945. He did well, but incurred the displeasure of the Tudeh party when he arrested the worst of the professional toughs of Tehran and imprisoned them in Bandar Abbas.

Businesslike and said to be honest. Lacking in real initiative, but carries out orders efficiently.

152. *Taba, Dr. Abdul Hussein*

Born in Tehran about 1911. Educated in medicine in England and qualified in medicine and surgery after eight years in Birmingham and at Guy's Hospital. Real name is Tabatabai, of the Yezdi family of that name. Employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as a doctor 1940-42, and since practising in Tehran.

A bright young man who seems keen on his profession. Married the youngest daughter of Vosughed-Douleh.

153. *Tabatabai, Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq*

Second son of the late Seyyid Mohammad Tabatabai, who was a prominent figure in the Nationalist movement of 1906 to 1910. Born in Tehran about 1880. Elected to the third and fourth Majlises. In close touch with pro-Germans during the war of 1914-18. Emigrated to Turkey in 1916. Returned in 1918 and co-operated with Suleiman Mirza in forming the Socialist party. During this phase he was in close touch with the Soviet Embassy. Ambassador to Turkey 1924-27. Recalled in 1927 and offered a post as a judge in the High Court of Appeal, but did not accept it.

Speaks French. Said to be intelligent and hard-working. Was more or less under arrest for about ten years in Tehran until the fall of Reza Shah 1941. Gradually entered political life after that and initiated and fostered the only Liberal party of Persia, called the "Millat" party ("The Nation").

Head of the Election Committee for Tehran 1943-44, and himself elected Deputy. Aspires to becoming Prime Minister, but, though intelligent, has ruined his health by excessive opium-smoking.

Elected President of the fourteenth Majlis. An opium addict for thirty years, he frequently found it difficult to keep awake when he was presiding over the Majlis. Moreover, sessions could not last till after 1-30 p.m. because the time for his pipe had come. An incorrigible intriguer he stands close to the Shah to whom he has always offered bad advice, favouring a conciliatory policy towards Soviet aggression. His "liberal" ideas are not to be taken seriously. He and his friends pride themselves on their patriotism and the pursuit of the middle way between Britain and the U.S.S.R. For reasons unknown he is generally regarded as a "national" figure. Would like to be Prime

Minister. Unsuccessful candidate for Tehran in elections for fifteenth Majlis.

154. *Tabatabai, Sayyid Zia-ud-Din*

Born about 1893. Son of the late Seyyid Ali Yazdi Tabatabai. Edited the newspaper *Rad (Thunder)* in Tehran in 1915-16. Played a considerable political rôle in 1917-18. Sent to Baku by Vosuq-ud-Dowleh in 1919 as Persian representative to Caucasian Azerbaijan; returned to Tehran in May 1920. Carried out *coup d'Etat* with the help of the Cossacks in February 1921, and seized the reins of office. Appointed Prime Minister with full powers by Ahmed Shah on the 1st March, 1921, and effected numerous arrests. His reforms were too radical for the country and the time, and he fell from power in June, fleeing the country. He has been in the tobacco business while exiled.

Took a prominent part in the Pan-Islamic Congress at Jerusalem in 1933.

Said to have assisted Kazemi in the negotiations with Iraq at Geneva during 1935.

In 1942, being by that time the owner of a very prosperous farm near Chazza in Palestine, which he had developed himself, he began to think of returning to his native country, and Muzaffar Firuz began with great energy and indiscretion to run a newspaper campaign in his favour in Tehran. He published a letter from the Seyyid in which the Russians were praised in fulsome language. His name came forward a good deal in the Tehran press during 1943, and quite a number of Deputies in the thirteenth Majlis seem to have favoured his return. The Russians and the Shah, however, were steadfastly opposed to his return, the former because they mistrusted Firuz's unfortunate letter, and the latter through fear that the Seyyid might become a dictator. However, he returned to Tehran in September 1943 and was elected to the fourteenth Majlis from Yezd, his native place. Caused annoyance by insisting on wearing a woollen hat of Caucasian style, and alienated some of his friends by an appearance of stubbornness and obstinacy.

Founded a political party which in the summer of 1945 was officially launched under the name of "Iradeh-i-Milli" or National Will. His followers claimed that the party numbered about 9,000 in Tehran, at the end of 1945. Is the particular bugbear of the Tudeh and the Russians, who never tire of vilifying him as the arch-enemy of his country and the principal tool in Persia of imperialists, reactionaries, &c. During the near-panic which prevailed in Tehran in November-December 1945 as a result of the approach of the Azerbaijan Democrats towards Qazvin many leading politicians and Deputies began seriously to consider that Seyyid Zia should be exiled from Persia as a sop to the Russians.

Arrested by Qavam-us-Saltanah on 19th March, 1946. Released to house detention in March 1947 on account of ill-health.

It is no exaggeration to say that Seyyid Zia rallied the anti-Tudeh forces in Persia and thus made it possible to resist intensive Soviet pressure when it came. Alone among Persians he has never allowed personal or even party interest to interfere with his policy. By his uncompromising resistance to Russian encroachments he became the symbol of Persia's will to resist. Though suspicious of Sa'id when he first came to power, he nevertheless supported him wholeheartedly when he proved that he was determined to resist Soviet demands. Similarly, he strongly supported Hakimi's foreign policy, although his party suffered severely at his hands. Again, when Qavam-us-Saltanah did not surrender to the Soviets he gave him his support, although the latter has a personal feud with him since he was one of those imprisoned by him in 1921.

A man of outstanding singleness of purpose and courage. Personally attractive, religious without being fanatical or obscurantist, he is at the same time short-tempered and impatient of criticism. These defects, however, were very much less noticeable during the last few months of the fourteenth Majlis. He is both honest and energetic—a very rare combination in Persia. In matters non-political he tends to have very wild ideas which he defends with unreasonable obstinacy.

The comparative lack of success of his party was due first to furious Soviet opposition, secondly, to his having been out of contact with the country for twenty-three years, and thirdly to the impossibility of reconciling his progressive ideas with the conservatism of many of his followers on whose financial aid he was dependent. Speaks French and English.

Has something of the mystic in him

155. Tadayun, Sayyid Muhammad

Born about 1884, a native of Birjand in East Persia; educated in Tehran, where he graduated and became a schoolmaster. After the split up of the original Democrat party in 1912, Tadayun became the leader of one of the more important Democrat factions. He was elected a Deputy from Tehran to the fourth term of the Majlis, and from Birjand to the fifth and sixth terms. Was elected President of the Majlis in the second half of the fifth term, and again at the beginning of the sixth term. In February 1927 he was appointed Minister of Education, but in December he resigned that appointment owing to disagreement with his colleagues in the Cabinet, but he resumed office nine days later at the personal request of the Shah. On the 7th January, 1928, the Shah ordered him to resign, and his fall was said to be due to the personal animosity towards him of Teymourache. In June 1930 he was appointed Governor of Kerman.

He was recalled from Kerman in March 1931, and he appears to believe that one reason for his recall was that he was too friendly with Lieutenant-Colonel Noel, then British Consul.

Returned to politics on the fall of Reza Shah; was Minister of Education in Feroughi's Cabinet of 1941-42, and spoke eloquently in favour of the Tripartite Treaty of 1942. Minister of Food after Farrukh in 1942; resigned in July 1943. Minister of the Interior, September 1943, and did well in running the elections. But was not included in the reshuffled Cabinet of December 1943. The Russians, who for some reason are against him, seem to have secured his exclusion.

156. Tahiri, Dr. Hadi

Born at Yazd about 1888. Son of a mulla. Landowner and proprietor of various concerns at Yazd. A great rival of the Nawwab family of Yazd. Elected to the Majlis on various occasions, and has served as president of the Financial Commission of the Majlis. In the thirteenth Majlis was one of the vice-presidents and was considered one of the leading members of the Majlis. Served on the Committee of the Anglo-Iranian Relief Fund, 1942, and was helpful in providing local knowledge. Was largely responsible for the success of Seyyid Zia-ed-Din in the Yazd elections of 1943, thereby incurring the dislike and distrust of the Shah. Very friendly to us. Accused of various peculations at Yazd, but nothing has been proved, and he is considered one of the most solid and reliable Deputies.

In the fourteenth Majlis he was, with Sayyid Kazim Jalili Yazdi, the most influential Deputy. Bitterly anti-Soviet he worked hard to maintain the Majlis majority against Soviet pressure. Though very slow in speech and manner he is extremely astute and had a profound knowledge of his Majlis

colleagues and particularly of their weak points. Though patriotic he would not allow his patriotism to interfere unduly with his personal interests in Yazd. He has a congenital aversion to the obvious course and delights to achieve his objectives by devious means through the agency of others. It would be idle to pretend that he has progressive ideas. Although ostensibly on excellent terms with Sayyid Kazim Jalili, he is secretly jealous of him, a sentiment that is reciprocated.

Arrested November 1946 for political activities against Qavam-us-Saltaneh. Released February 1947.

157. Tagizadeh, Hasan

Born in Tabriz about 1880, the son of a small preacher. He was educated in his native town, and used to haunt the booksellers' shops, where he showed great eagerness to acquire knowledge. In his early youth he was an ardent Nationalist, and was connected with the Nationalist movement in Persia from the beginning. He was elected to the first term of the Majlis and was one of its most prominent members. Mohammad Ali Shah hated and feared him, and, when the Shah made a *coup d'Etat* in 1908 against the Majlis, Tagizadeh took refuge in His Majesty's Legation. The demand made by the Shah that he should be given up was refused, and Tagizadeh was eventually amnestied, on the condition that he went to Europe. He visited London and Cambridge, but returned to Tabriz at the end of 1908. He was elected to the second term of the Majlis in 1909, and, after the capture of Tehran by the Nationalist forces and the abdication of Muhammad Ali Shah in July 1909, Tagizadeh became a prominent member of the Nationalist Committee, which was set up to decide on the Government of the country. Went to Europe in 1910. He was elected in his absence to the third and fourth terms of the Majlis, but did not take his seat. He stayed in Europe and America during the whole period from 1914 to 1923, and was for years in Berlin, where he edited a paper called *Kaveh*. For publishing certain articles of an anti-Islamic nature he was excommunicated by the Mujtehid. He negotiated the Perso-Soviet Commercial Treaty in Moscow in February 1921, and finally returned to Persia in 1924. He was elected to the fifth term of the Majlis 1924-26, and to the sixth term in 1926. He visited America again in 1926 as Persian delegate to the Philadelphia Exhibition. Appointed Governor-General of Khorasan in January 1929; he was recalled in May and appointed Persian Minister in London, where he remained until April 1930, when he returned to Persia and became Minister of Roads and Communications. In August 1930 he was appointed Minister of Finance in addition.

Tagizadeh fell from grace in September 1933, for reasons which are obscure. The Shah is said to have suspected him of intrigue with Majlis members in connexion with the purchase of gold. He was, however, soon re-employed as Minister in Paris.

Recalled from Paris in August 1934, but obtained prolonged leave of absence and did not return to Persia. Appointed Iranian representative at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in September 1935.

He is married to a German and talks German fluently. He speaks English and French less well. Appointed Minister in London by Feroughi 1941, and has been suggested as Prime Minister on more than one occasion since then, but he has always preferred to stay in London. Became ambassador in 1944.

Headed Persian Delegation to the U.N.O. in London in January 1946 and ably presented the Persian case when the Security Council considered

the Perso-Russian dispute about Azerbaijan. Appointed to act as Persian representative in winding up the League of Nations in Geneva, March 1946.

Elected Deputy for Tabriz in fifteenth Majlis and decided to return to Persia.

158. Uvaisi, Ali Muhammad

Born in Tehran 1884. Educated at the School of Political Science at Tehran. Entered the service of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1903. Vice-consul at Baku 1904. Karguzar at Darejez 1905. Deputy Karguzar at Tabriz 1906. Governor of Enzeli (now Pahlevi) 1908. Passport Officer at Constantinople 1909-14. In the Ministry of Public Works 1918. Served in this Ministry in various posts until 1931, when he was appointed Governor of Yazd. Governor of Khuzistan 1933-35. Appointed as commercial representative in the East (India, China and Japan), with headquarters at Bombay, March 1936. Employed in Tehran 1945 in Ministry of Commerce and Industry, as Under-Secretary of State.

Speaks French fluently, and is a pleasant conversationalist. Married to a European lady. Has great ideas on commerce and development schemes. Not popular with his colleagues.

159. Vasiqi, Sadiq

Born in 1898 at Tabriz, but of a Mazandaran family. Employed for many years in the Department of Commerce of the Ministry of Public Works, and in the Ministry of Commerce since the former ministry was divided up. Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce until April 1938, when he became Acting Minister on the dismissal of M. Ala.

He has paid several visits to Europe, notably to Germany when the Clearing Agreement with that country was negotiated in 1935, and to Moscow in 1939, when the question of renewing the Russo-Iranian Trade Agreement arose. Head of Agricultural Bank in 1942, but was removed to make room for one of Qavam-us-Saltaneh's political nominees. Member of the board of the Iran Insurance Company, February 1943. Head of Mortgage Bank, December 1943. Secretary of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee, February 1944. Member of the National Bank Supervisory Board, August 1945.

Educated in Tehran at the Ecole Polytechnique (Dar-ul-Funun), and speaks French and English.

160. Vussuq, Hasan, G.C.B. (Vussuq-ud-Daulah)

Born about 1868. Began his career in the Ministry of Finance. Elected a Deputy to the first and second terms of the Majlis, and in 1909 chosen to be a member of the Nationalist Committee, which directed the affairs of State after the abdication of Muhammad Ali Shah. His first Cabinet appointment was as Minister of Justice in October 1909. In the following month he became Minister of Finance, but resigned in July 1910. In July 1911 he became Minister for Foreign Affairs. Again Minister for Foreign Affairs in January 1913, he left for Europe in June of the same year. Minister for Foreign Affairs, July-August 1914, and Minister of Finance, August-December 1915. Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, August 1916 to May 1917. Prime Minister and Minister of Interior from August 1918 to June 1920. Negotiated the Anglo-Persian Convention of 1919. Visited Europe in June 1920, and only returned to Persia at the beginning of 1926. Appointed Minister of Finance in June 1926, but resigned in November to take his seat in Parliament. Elected as a Deputy from

Tehran to the seventh term of the Majlis 1928-30. Appointed President of the new "Academy" for the revision of the Persian language, December 1935.

A man of great ability and character. He became unpopular over the Anglo-Persian Convention, but, after a most able and convincing defence of his acts as Prime Minister during the period 1918-20 before the Majlis, he regained a large measure of popularity.

Went to Europe for a serious operation 1940; survived it, unable to return to Persia; he was appointed ambassador to Turkey by his brother, Qavam-us-Saltaneh in 1942, but could not proceed. Speaks French fluently, also a little English.

Returned to Persia summer 1946. Is now too old to take an active part in politics.

161. Yazdan Panah, General Murteza

Born about 1891; son of Mirza Ali Akbar, a small shopkeeper in the village of Serdasht. In 1907 Murteza Khan entered the Cossack Cadet School. Received his commission in 1912, showed strong pro-Russian sympathies, and consequently gained rapid promotion. Made lieutenant-colonel in 1919 and colonel in 1920. During the whole of his service he was intimate with Reza Khan, and accompanied him on the march to Tehran in February 1921 which culminated in the *coup d'Etat*. Was promoted general and given command of the Central Division. In July 1927 he fell from favour, and was put under arrest for a short time for an unknown reason. Whatever the suspicions against him were, they appear to have been unsubstantiated, for he was released very soon. In the autumn of 1928 he was appointed inspector of the gendarmerie, but was superseded in 1930 and left without any active command.

Murteza Khan was always regarded until 1927 as a very loyal supporter of Reza Shah, but after his arrest in 1927 he appeared to have lost confidence in Reza Shah. He is active, intelligent, ambitious, and a strict disciplinarian. His military ideas and his general education are very limited, but he has shown anxiety to learn. He is not popular amongst the troops, but is feared and respected. Holds aloof from foreigners, and is a strong opponent of foreign interference in Persia.

Inspector of Infantry in 1932. Commandant of Tehran Cadet College, 1933.

On the fall of Reza Shah, Murteza Khan became Chief of the General Staff, and worked as a loyal supporter of the young Shah. On the appointment of Amir Ahmedi as Minister of War in 1943 it became apparent that the two could not work together, and Murteza's department became quite separate from that of the Minister of War; in fact, the Shah took to giving orders to the Chief of the Staff without the knowledge of the responsible Minister. Murteza took two months' leave in June 1943, but was soon appointed commander of the Tehran garrison.

Appointed adjutant-general to the Shah, autumn 1943, a post he still retains. Member of the Perso-Soviet Cultural Relations Committee, February 1944.

Speaks Russian and has a Russian wife.

Leader of military contingent chosen to represent Persia at Victory Parade in London, June 1946.

Honest, genial and staunchly patriotic, he urged the Shah strongly to oppose the candidature of Qavam-us-Saltaneh in February 1946, but without success. Although he is one of the Shah's closest advisers, he does not have a very high opinion of him personally, though he is devoted to the monarchy. He is one of the few senior army officers who are incorruptible. He is reputed to

have had close relations with the Soviet Embassy, but this is most probably untrue.

162. Yazdi, Dr. Murtaza

Born about 1900. Educated in Germany where he is reported to have joined the Communist Party. Often represents Tudeh workers in negotiations between them and their employers. In early months of 1946 made a tour of the south and south-east in an effort to whip up Tudeh support and was responsible in large measure for the troubles in Isfahan in April of that year. Often translates for the Russian Ambassador. A member of the Directing Committee of the Russo-Persian Cultural Relations Society 1946. Minister of Health under Qavam-us-Saltanah in August-October 1946 when he used his position to fill important posts in the Ministry with Tudeh members and sympathisers.

163. Zahidi, Fazlullah (Basir-i-Divan)

Born in Hamadan about 1883. His father was for many years in charge of the late Nasir-ul-Mulk's property at Hamadan. Joined the Constitutional movement and was wounded. Joined the Cossacks and thus came into contact with Reza Khan, under whom he served. Rose to the rank of general in 1921. Commanded the troops at Shiraz in 1922. In 1924 commanded the troops sent to Khuzistan, and helped to arrest the Sheikh of Mohammerah in 1925. Transferred to Resht in 1926, where he commanded the Northern Independent Brigade. Recalled to Tehran December 1928. Commanded the Road Guards 1929. Arrested and degraded for neglect of duty in 1929. Soon after he was pardoned and reinstated. Chief of police 1931. Relieved of this post after a few months owing to the escape of some prisoners from prison. Dismissed from the army in 1931. Turned his attention to business and became a partner in the "Kazadema" Ford agency. Reinstated in the rank of general 1932 and made A.D.C. to the Shah. Member of the Iranian commercial delegation to Russia in April 1935, and subsequently visited Central Europe.

More of a politician than a soldier. Made a good deal of money in Khuzistan. Being capable of generosity he was not unpopular with the troops under his command.

Married the daughter of Hussein Pirnia (Mo'tamen-ul-Mulk) in 1927.

Commanded troops at Isfahan 1942, and gradually took charge of all departments of Government; proof was found that he was working with the Germans, and he was arrested by British troops and taken out of Persia in the autumn of 1942. Released in 1945.

164. Zand, Ibrahim

Born about 1890. Educated at the Cadet College at St. Petersburg. Then sent to study law in France, where he was a contemporary and friend of Jawad Amery. Towards the end of the last war became an active member of the Musawat party in Azerbaijan, and in 1919 became a member of the short-lived Azerbaijan Government. After its fall he went back to France, and a few years

after returned to Persia, where Davar employed him in the Ministry of Justice as an adviser. He was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Finance, and in 1938 became a member of the board of the National Bank. On the appointment of A. H. Ebtehaj as director of that bank he left the bank and was employed at Court as Comptroller of the Royal accounts. Minister of War in Soheily's third Cabinet, December 1943. Minister of War in Sa'id's Cabinets, March and April, 1944, in Bayat's Cabinet, November 1944, Hakimi's Cabinet, May 1945 and Sadr's Cabinet June 1945. Suffers from ill-health and makes frequent trips to Palestine for treatment. A patriotic and honest man with a background of military training of the Russia of Tsarist days. Had sound ideas about eliminating corruption in the army but lacked courage to enforce his will.

Married to the sister of Farajullah Bahramy. Speaks Russian extremely well, probably better than Persian.

165. Zarin-Kafsh Ali Asghar

Born about 1885, of a Tehran family of Kurdish descent. Educated at the Political School in Tehran, and employed in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in subsidiary posts for several years. In 1923 and 1924 was head of a section of the Ministry and was always very courteous and helpful whenever referred to by members of this Embassy. Served as "chef de cabinet" to Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan Feroughi while the latter was Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was subsequently posted to Washington, where he spent more than a year as secretary to the Persian Legation. He was recalled to Tehran in about 1927, and served in the Ministry of Justice for a time under Davar, at the time when the Ministry was being fundamentally reformed. He was for a time a judge of the Cour de Cassation. He then was transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, where he was serving as Under-Secretary when the Minister of the Interior, Mirza Ali Khan Mansur, was transferred to the Ministry of Roads on the 26th January, 1933. From thenceforward he served as Acting Minister of the Interior until Feroughi's Cabinet was formed in September 1933.

At the Ministry of Justice earned a reputation for severity, which was no doubt needed.

Proceeded to England as commissioner of the Persian Government with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company in December 1933, with his wife and two children. Honorary counsellor to the legation in London 1937.

Returned to Persia December 1940. Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice from 1941. Has always been helpful in settling cases and giving advice on points of Persian law. On Hikmat's resignation from Soheily's Cabinet in June 1943, became Acting Minister of Justice, but on the appointment of Sadr as Minister returned to the post of Under-Secretary. Minister of Finance 1944.

Speaks English and French.

Zarin Kafsh is honest and socially most pleasant. In 1945 he joined the Iradeh-i-Milli party and has a very high regard for Sayyid Zia.

E 5615/40/34

No. 20

OPENING OF THE MAJLIS BY THE SHAH

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th June)

(No. 735)

(Telegraphic)

Tehran,

27th June, 1947.

My telegram No. 729.

Prime Minister, in an official proclamation to-day, states the Shah will open the Majlis on 17th July.

2. He warns the press that martial law will be imposed again in Tehran unless the press cease to abuse the freedom which it has enjoyed since martial law was suspended on 16th June.

E 6002/6002/34

No. 21

HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN PERSIA, 1947

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th July)

(No. 234)

Sir,

Tehran, 30th June, 1947

With reference to my despatch No. 499 of 11th December, 1946, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a report on the heads of foreign diplomatic missions at this post.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 21

Heads of Foreign Missions in Tehran

(Paragraphs marked with an asterisk have been reproduced from previous reports)

Afghanistan

Ambassador: Rahimollah Khan (8th February, 1947).

For some years Minister of Mines at Kabul. Since his arrival he has found himself involved in some publicity owing to the recrudescence of the Helmand barrage controversy. A pale personality, but friendly. He has remarkably little to say for himself.

Belgium

Minister: Count Antoine de Laubespain (12th January, 1946).

*Formerly counsellor of the Belgian Embassy in London, he is well informed about and well disposed towards England. Intelligent and agreeable, but he has poor health and rather a pale personality. Both he and his French wife are most friendly. (Written in 1946.)

Brazil

Minister: Vacant.

Since M. do Prado's departure at the end of 1946 the legation has been in charge of M. Oliveira Leite, a quite unusually insignificant little man of excellent intentions.

Chile

Minister: Manuel Garretón (20th June, 1946).

*A political appointee who is reputed to have sympathy with the Extreme Left. He lives at Angora and during the few weeks he was in Persia he contrived to keep his political views under stern

control, although at that time the star of the Tudeh was in the ascendant. I did not see much of him, but he made an agreeable impression. (Written in 1946.)

China

Ambassador: Ye Tung-cheng (24th September, 1946).

He is both intelligent and friendly and should, I feel, be in more active employment. He has an agreeable wife and a large family.

Czechoslovakia

Minister: Miroslav Kudrat (17th July, 1946).

*Has a considerable experience of commercial diplomacy and spent most of the last war in London. He and his wife are as pro-British as they can contrive to be without falling foul of other friends of the Soviet. They have obviously no hankering after a Communist revival. (Written in 1946.)

Denmark

Chargé d'Affaires: Count E. Schack (12th May, 1946).

An elderly consular official with an almost embarrassing admiration for everything English. He has been observing Court mourning since his arrival and he tells me that he will be replaced by a minister at the end of the summer.

Egypt

Ambassador: Mahmoud Sabit Pasha (4th April, 1945).

*Born about 1890. Finished his education at Cambridge, of which he has the happiest memories, and was employed in the newly established Egyptian Legation in London for some years. His last post was that of head of the protocol in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Cairo. He and his wife and his daughter of 20 have become immediately popular. Mme. Sabit is related to the Queen of Egypt. Her daughter has become very friendly with the Queen of Persia, who will be all the better for the companionship of a sensible, good-humoured compatriot, with a *savoir-faire* beyond her years.

Sabit Pasha is not a great mind, but he is very friendly and makes a pleasing impression of frankness and honesty. (Written in 1945.)

Absent.

France

Ambassador: Pierre Lafond (29th March, 1944).
M. Lafond was born probably about 1895. He fought in the 1914-18 war and then entered the diplomatic service. He returned to the army in 1939, but after the defeat of France he obtained an appointment in Tunisia. His open antagonism to Vichy caused him to be arrested by the Germans and sent back to France, whence he escaped back to Tunis after the occupation of North Africa by the Allies.

From all British sources we have good reports of M. Lafond. He is rather effusive in language, but not the less sincere for that. He is an interesting and cultivated man and a pleasant addition to the Diplomatic Corps. He can speak English quite well, but rarely does so. Mme. Lafond, who lived in Tunis, died at the end of last winter and after several months' absence, during which he is believed to have tried in vain to obtain another post, M. Lafond has just returned here, bringing with him four of his children.

Greece

Chargé d'Affaires: Georges Coustas (13th September, 1943).

Rather a lightweight, but friendly. His wife, who comes from Istanbul, is musical and intelligent. They are well received in Tehran society.

Holy See

Apostolic Delegate: Vacant.

*Mgr. Pappalardo, who is in charge, is not a very striking personality, but human and agreeable. (Written in 1946.)

Iraq

Chargé d'Affaires: Vacant.

The mission is temporarily in charge of the secretary, M. Fadhil Wahid.

Italy

Minister: Mario Porta (1st August, 1946).

*A career diplomat who has been living in retirement during the latter part of the war. His last post was San Domingo and before that he was for some years counsellor at Bagdad, but he does not appear to like Persia. He is a good linguist and has an English wife of somewhat formidable aspect. (Written in 1946.)

Lebanon

Chargé d'Affaires: Salim Haidar (26th May, 1946).

*A young politician without diplomatic experience but not without ideas. His wife is good-looking, but has little to say for herself. (Written in 1946.)

Netherlands

Chargé d'Affaires: W. P. Montijn (28th July, 1946).

*Before coming to Persia he served in Australia and before that in the United States. He speaks English well and is most friendly in a rather ponderous way. His wife, who is attractive and a good deal younger than he, was brought up in America. She is bilingual. (Written in 1946.)

Norway

Minister: Hans C. Berg (19th May, 1947).

Resides in Moscow.

Served formerly in Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He seems friendly and intelligent and has lost no time in absorbing the diplomatic atmosphere of Moscow. His wife is agreeable but rather ponderous.

Poland

Chargé d'Affaires: Eugeniusz Jan Milnikiel (3rd September, 1946).

*Quiet, thoughtful and, I think, sincere, but at present fully employed trying to maintain a precarious equilibrium on the Anglo-Soviet tight-rope. (Written in 1946.)

Soviet Union

Ambassador: Ivan Vassilievitch Sadchikov (26th March, 1946).

An amiable exponent of an unamiable policy. A youngish man, physically unimpressive, whose only experience of foreign countries hitherto has been at his previous post in Belgrade. He has admitted to feeling lost in Persia and is, I suspect, in the hands of advisers who are more unscrupulous than wise. He is said to be purist in the matter of ideology and to have been charged by some of his compatriots with ignoring practical issues. His health has been bad but is said to be improving. He returned to Moscow last month ostensibly on grounds of health, but it is generally believed that he is under a cloud and will not return. He has learnt a little French since he arrived in Persia and appears genuinely anxious to be friendly. Mme. Sadchikova is rather a negative quantity.

Sweden

Minister: Vacant.

M. Pousette left for Sweden last week (I hear he is to be transferred to Iceland), leaving a very youthful secretary named Odhner in charge.

Switzerland

Minister: Charles de Bavier (22nd March, 1947).

Formerly in Rome. After acting for nearly two years as chargé d'affaires here with personal rank of minister, he has just presented letters. A pleasant, lightweight colleague. His wife suffers from indifferent health. She is friendly but somewhat overpowering.

Syria

Minister: Assad Haroun (19th March, 1946).

*Agreeable and humorous and probably more shrewd than profound. He is well-informed and disposed to be friendly. (Written in 1946.)

Turkey

Ambassador: Kemal Köprülü (24th May, 1945).

*Friendly, well-informed and full of good sense. He is one of the outstanding members of the Diplomatic Corps, of which he became dean a few weeks ago. Formerly in Kabul. (Written in 1946.)

United States

Ambassador: George Venable Allen (11th May, 1946).

*Born in 1903, he was in the State Department for some years before being appointed here, but had previously served abroad in the Far East and in Canada. Single-minded, lucid and sincere, but in no sense a bore. It would be difficult to imagine a better choice for this post. He and his pleasant wife are on excellent terms with the Shah and Princess Ashraf. Sometimes a trifle precipitate. (Written in 1946.)

Yugoslavia

Minister: Asim Alihodzic (10th September, 1945).

*Another performer on the Anglo-Soviet tight-rope and not a very graceful one. His cordiality, though spasmodic, is generally disconcerting. (Written in 1946.)

REIMPOSITION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN TEHRAN

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th July)

(No. 771)
(Telegraphic)

Tehran,
8th July, 1947.

My telegram No. 755.

Mr. Salman Asadi has just informed me that military government in the capital will be reimposed to-day.

2. It seems that this decision was taken after a lengthy discussion by the Cabinet of Ministers last night, but that the Minister of War withdrew his signature from the decree on grounds that it should first be submitted to the Shah for His Majesty's approval. The Prime Minister considered this unnecessary. His view was that the Shah, when consulted on this matter on 25th June (my telegram No. 729), had not vetoed such a decree, but had only insisted there should be prior warning. This warning had been given (my telegram No. 735), and had been quite without effect. He therefore considered further reference to His Majesty unnecessary. As the Minister of War persisted in his opposition he called on him to resign, but General Ahmedi refused. The Prime Minister thereupon adjourned

the Cabinet meeting and sought an immediate audience with the Shah at which His Majesty agreed to issue decree to reimpose military government in Tehran and also of another dismissing General Ahmedi from office.

3. Mr. Asadi said that he would do his best to persuade the Prime Minister to keep the dismissal of General Ahmedi a secret in the hope that the Shah might be persuaded to reinstate him very shortly. Meanwhile, it seems during the past few days sixty-five members of the Prime Minister's party have pledged themselves on the Koran and in writing to support him in the Majlis and it is expected that the number of signatures will shortly be increased to ninety or more.

4. In view of the slow and cumbersome nature of the present law of libel, the Government are considering very urgent legislation designed to prevent abuse of press privilege. This measure will probably be among the first that will be laid before the new Majlis.

PERSIA: QUARTERLY REPORT, APRIL-JUNE 1947

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 16th July)

(No. 241)
Sir,

Tehran,
8th July, 1947.

With reference to my despatch No. 114 of 14th March, 1947, I have the honour to submit to you herewith a report on outstanding events in Persia during the second quarter of 1947.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Bagdad; Air Headquarters, Iraq; the British Middle East Office, Cairo; the Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East; the Government of India; and all consulates in Persia.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

Enclosure in No. 23

Report for the Quarter ended 30th June, 1947

I.—Internal Situation

The chief items of internal political interest have been the elections to the Majlis, the conclusion of military operations against the Kurds in western Azerbaijan, and the Shah's tour in the north-western provinces.

Elections

At the end of April it was announced that eighty-nine Deputies had been registered as members of the 15th Majlis.

Since then some twenty more have been elected out of a total of 136. The elections have been concluded in the principal towns, including Tabriz and Shiraz, and at the end of the quarter arrangements were being made for the conclusion of the elections in Kurdistan and in the remaining districts of Azerbaijan and Fars in time for the opening of the Majlis on 17th July.

The Deputies elected for Azerbaijan include Mr. Taqizadeh, the present Persian Ambassador in London. He is expected to become President of the Majlis.

The trial took place during May before the High Court of Justice of Saiyid Muhammad Taddayun on charges of interference with the elections as Minister of the Interior and of corruption while he held the post of Minister of Food in a previous Government. He was acquitted on all charges.

A new Cabinet was formed by Qavam-es-Sultaneh on 21st June, differing little in composition from its predecessor. In a statement published on 17th June the Prime Minister announced the termination of military government in the Tehran district, thus limiting his own power to give military backing to the interim régime of Government by decree which has lasted since the dissolution of the 14th Majlis. At the same time he stated that it might prove necessary later to reimpose military government if the campaign against him in certain newspapers continued.

Kurdistan

Major military operations in Kurdistan were concluded in April. After stiff fighting, in which the Persian air force took part, the Barzanis were driven over the frontier into Iraq where most of them surrendered. Mulla Mustafa, however, finding the Iraqi Government determined not to pardon him or his followers, returned to Persia with several hundred armed men; the Persian Government at once despatched a further force against him. After several conflicts with Persian troops the Barzanis succeeded in evading the army's efforts to encircle them, and on about 17th June escaped into Soviet territory by swimming across the Aras river to the north of Maku. The number who thus escaped is given as 650, including Mulla Mustafa and six Iraqi officers. Before crossing they abandoned 40,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, 250 rifles and 47 machine guns. On arrival on the Russian side of the river they surrendered to a

Russian frontier post and were subsequently removed in lorries.

A general amnesty has been proclaimed for the Kurdish tribes. Their disarmament is officially stated to be progressing satisfactorily, but the number of rifles collected remains small.

The Shah

The Shah has been much in the public eye and towards the end of May undertook a tour of Azerbaijan lasting three weeks, in the course of which he visited Tabriz and other principal towns in north-west Persia and was received with great enthusiasm. His tour undoubtedly consolidated the loyalty of the population concerned and strengthened the Government's hold on Azerbaijan.

Though the Government has not been particularly quick in undertaking public works in Azerbaijan, it has been announced that work is already in progress on the railway extension from Mianeh to Tabriz, and that credits have been approved for Tabriz University and for the asphaltting of roads in Azerbaijan.

The Shah has decided that a mausoleum shall be built at Shah Abdul Asim, a few miles south of Tehran, for the body of his father, Reza Shah, which will be brought from Egypt when work on the mausoleum has been completed.

Tribal Affairs—South Persia

There is considerable discontent in the Bakhtiari country owing to the unpopularity of the Governor, Abul Qasim Khan, and various unsuccessful attempts have been made to persuade the Prime Minister to dismiss him. It is reported from Isfahan that there is a movement there to secure the appointment of Jehanshah Khan Samsam to take his place. The other Khans who were arrested in connexion with the attempted revolt last year are still in forced residence at Tehran. In the elections in Fars prominent Qashqai figures such as Nasir Qashqai, Muhammad Husain Qashqai, and Khosro Quashqai, were all successful at the polls. A new Governor-General of Fars was appointed owing, it is said, to the Prime Minister's dissatisfaction with the way in which his predecessor was handling the elections.

The disarmament of the tribes in Fars province has made little progress and security has not been completely re-established on the Bushire-Shiraz road.

Kazerun was not reoccupied by Government troops until the middle of May, and a garrison did not arrive at Bushire until some time later.

A proposal has been made to form a separate province of Persian Baluchistan (Mekran). It is not yet known whether this will include Seistan as well.

Labour Conditions and Trade Union Affairs

The investigations of the delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions into local labour affairs continued until the end of April, when the delegates left for Europe. El Aris, the President of the delegation, who had been unable to obtain a visa for Iraq, arrived in Persia three weeks after the other delegates. Mr. Harries, the British representative, becoming impatient at the delay, conducted independent enquiries in Isfahan and Khuzistan, the other delegates following him a week later. The whole delegation visited factories and industrial establishments in and around Tehran and in Mazandaran.

Mr. Harries was impressed with welfare conditions, amenities and housing of workers in the A.I.O.C. areas, and Messrs. El Aris and Borisov admitted (whilst they were in Persia) that A.I.O.C. standards are high. On leaving Persia, however, they inspired press and radio criticism of the company, and used the information they had obtained in Khuzistan for attacks on British "imperialism." In the Caspian provinces the delegation's activities were outstandingly prejudiced. Messrs. El Aris and Borisov declined to interview any but Tudeh supporters and refused to receive a delegation which wished to protest against local excesses of the Tudeh Party. El Aris also visited Tudeh prisoners and promised them his help with the Central Government.

On 15th April Reza Rusta, Secretary-General of the Central United Council of the Persian Federation of Trade Unions, was arrested by the Government on serious charges, including espionage, and was held despite the protests of El Aris. The Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U., meeting at Prague in June, made representations on behalf of Reza Rusta which the Persian Government is unable to accept and Rusta remains in prison.

The delegation's report has been accepted by the W.F.T.U. which, unless the Persian Government reinstates the

Central United Council as monopoly representative of Persian workers, threatens to refer the case to the United Nations Organisation. The Persian Government is not alarmed.

Economic Development

There has been little further news in connexion with the Government's seven-year plan of economic development. The proposed development loan of \$250 million from the International Bank has been considerably criticised in the local press and is said to be opposed by the Minister of Finance. Fears have been expressed that the United States would thereby obtain an economic stranglehold on Persia, and doubts have been voiced as to the use to which the money would be put.

The economic survey of the American Morrison-Knudsen group has been completed and its members have all returned to the United States. The final report has not yet been issued but it is understood that a considerable part of the Prime Minister's seven-year plan does not meet with their approval; it is probable, therefore, that in the light of the recommendations of this mission, the proposed development loan will not materialise.

After a lapse of two years, during which time the public finances have been administered by a system of provisional monthly budgets, estimates of expenditure and revenue have now been produced for the financial year 1326 (21st March, 1947, to 20th March, 1948). Expenditure is estimated at 7,762,443,675 rials, whilst the total of ordinary and extraordinary revenues is estimated at 7,799,068,531 rials, thus showing a small surplus.

With the exception of a limited list of essential goods, for which the Exchange Control Commission will sell Government exchange at the official rate, importers are required to purchase their own foreign exchange. This has led to a sharp rise in the free market rate of sterling, which now stands at 180-190 rials to the £.

II.—Foreign Relations

United Kingdom

The claims of the Persian Government against His Majesty's Government for the use of Persian railways for aid to Russia during the war have been under discussion in Tehran with a representative of His Majesty's Treasury. No satisfactory conclusion was reached and negotiations are expected to be reopened later in the year.

The Persian Government have been considering ways and means of increasing the benefits which they enjoy from the operations of the A.I.O.C. In May the Prime Minister appointed a commission to examine the possibility of persuading the company to contribute more than at present to the Persian Treasury as a contribution towards Persia's economic welfare. An assurance was given to the commercial counsellor of the embassy that this action did not indicate any desire to contend that the terms of the concession were not being carried out by the company. The Prime Minister also asked for the views of His Majesty's Government on the proposal to raise a loan covered by A.I.O.C. royalties; he was informed that no loan could be expected from London.

A further contract has been given to Sir Alexander Gibb and Partners for the completion of the dam on the Zayendeh Rud in the Kuh-i-Rang district west of Isfahan and for the diversion of the head waters of the Karun River.

Students have been sent to England by the G.E.C. to study the working of the automatic telephone apparatus which is to be installed in Tehran and other Persian towns.

United States

Considerable satisfaction has been caused in court and Persian army circles by the decision of the United States Government to grant Persia a 30-million-dollar credit for the purchase of military equipment. General Schwartzkopf, head of the American Gendarmerie Mission, has left for the United States to purchase equipment under this credit. General Firuz, Inspector-General of the Persian Air Force, has also left for the United States; in the course of his visit he will attend a conference in Canada and he will return to Persia via the United Kingdom.

There has been considerable press agitation against the economic and political influence which the United States appears to be acquiring in Persia. This criticism was stimulated both by the American arms credit and by the visit to the Persian Gulf during May of units of the United States Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean Squadron under the command of Admiral Connolly, who flew to Tehran with an impressive staff. Mr. W. C. Dunne of the State Department has spent a month in Persia.

U.S.S.R.

The relations with U.S.S.R. seem to be entering a difficult phase. It is becoming increasingly clear that the new Majlis will oppose the granting of a Russian oil concession in the form originally proposed, and the Prime Minister is understood to be considering modifications to this proposal. On 15th June the Prime Minister gave an interview to the representative of *Le Monde* and stated that he fully recognised the obligation imposed upon him personally by his signature on 5th April of the Russo-Persian agreement regarding the formation of the joint oil company, and that nothing would prevent him from submitting the necessary proposals to Parliament. On the other hand, the situation had changed in view of the election and it was not possible for him to impose a particular point of view on the newly elected Deputies, who might, if he tried to do so, reject the agreement. Consequently both signatories to the agreement should take into account the present situation and prepare a plan which, when put forward, would be capable of being discussed and accepted by public opinion and by Parliament. He added that there was no truth in the rumour that countries other than Persia and the Soviet Union would participate in the company to be formed to exploit North Persian oil.

The Persian Government have demanded from the Soviet Government the transfer of some 11 million grammes of gold belonging to the National Bank of Persia and now held by the Soviet National Bank; it is also demanding a further sum of 8 million dollars for material supplied to the Russian forces and 300 million rials for customs due on goods imported into Persia since 1941 on which no duty has been paid.

In the middle of May the Russian Ambassador left for Moscow on a month's leave and it was rumoured that he would not return. Before leaving he was said to have complained of the unfriendly attitude of Persia, of the increase in American influence in the Persian armed forces, of the consolidation of Anglo-Saxon influence by means of loans, of the Persian Government's attitude on civil aviation matters and of Persian obstruction to the normal entry of Russian goods—presumably a reference to the Persian claim for customs duties. A further symptom of Russian displeasure was to be seen in the attitude

of the Soviet Consul-General at Tabriz at the time of the Shah's visit and the failure of the Soviet institutions there to put up any decorations to celebrate the event—a discourtesy which was resented by the local population.

Rumours of troop concentrations in the Caucasus and of the infiltration of agents from Russia into Azerbaijan are, however, believed to be without serious foundation; they may have been set in circulation in order to exert pressure and to cause nervousness in Persia.

Afghanistan

A dispute has arisen between Persia and Afghanistan on the subject of water rights in the Helmand River, which the Persians claim are being violated by the construction of a dam at Gilishk by American engineers on behalf of the Afghan Government.

India

Latest developments in the Indian political situation have convinced responsible Persians of the facts, hitherto imperfectly recognised, that Britain is

determined to grant Indians independence at the earliest possible moment, and that "Pakistan" is a reality which will have to be taken into account by India's Western neighbours. Reactions throughout Persia are confused, varying from profound suspicion of Britain's ultimate objectives regarding Pakistan to apprehension lest communism fill the Indian vacuum and upset the balance of power in Asia. There is, however, a marked reluctance to take sides as between Congress and the Muslim League.

The Persian Cultural and Political Mission returned from India towards the end of May. It is understood that the Persian Government intends to reopen a telegraphic land line to India via Zahidan as soon as possible. Negotiations are in progress with the Government of India regarding direct wireless communication between Tehran and Bombay.

Levant States

The Persian Government has opened conversations with the Syrian and Lebanese Governments with a view to obtaining a free zone for commercial purposes in some Mediterranean port.

E 6617/40/34

No. 24

HIS MAJESTY THE SHAH OF PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Berin. (Received 24th July)

(No. 257)
Sir,

Tehran,
15th July, 1947.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a cutting⁽¹⁾ from the *Journal de Tehran* of 11th July containing an account of an interview given by the Shah a short time ago to a Danish journalist in Tehran.

2. The views which His Majesty expressed are impeccable and raise no controversial points, but the general tenor of his remarks have a significance which I think deserves notice.

3. The Shah is revealed in this interview as I have often seen him, as a sovereign eager to serve his country and people, but one who is, at the same time, palpably impatient of the restraints imposed on a constitutional monarch.

4. This is, I think, a fair picture of His Majesty's position in relation both to his

people and his Ministers. He is enthusiastic, sincere and intensely dislikes the delays caused by Governmental institutions and deplores the corruption which infests Persian public life.

5. He imagines that if he had autocratic power he could resist the corruption which it brought to his father and become Persia's first really benevolent despot. He does not understand that his own inexperience and weakness of character would render his success in any such rôle virtually impossible.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow, Bagdad, Angora and Cairo, and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN

1st January to 30th June, 1947

Consul-General Carse to Mr. Bevin. (Received 31st July)

(No. 23)
Sir,

Tabriz,

14th July, 1947.

With reference to my despatch No. 6 of 8th January last, I have the honour to transmit herewith a brief analysis of the political situation in Azerbaijan during the six month ended 30th June, 1947.

2. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran. I have, &c.

W. MITCHELL CARSE.

Enclosure in No. 25

At the beginning of the period under review, the people of Azerbaijan were full of hope for the future. A new era, they felt, was beginning for them. They had, in no small measure, contributed to the return to Persian sovereignty of this fertile province; the Central Government seemed only too anxious to give them much-needed succour, to remove the evils from which they had suffered under the Azerbaijan Democrats' régime, and to pave the way for better conditions than they had ever enjoyed before.

In order, however, that the Central Government should be in no doubt as to what Azerbaijan really needed for its religious, political, economic and social welfare, the people tabulated their demands and submitted them to M. Pirniya, the Prime Minister's Deputy, at the beginning of January while he was in Tabriz. These demands were:—

- (a) The adequate punishment of the Azerbaijan Democrat leaders.
- (b) The re-establishment of general security and the disarmament of all persons not authorised to possess weapons or ammunition.
- (c) The appointment of capable and honest officials.
- (d) A sound educational programme which would include religious instruction.
- (e) Commercial and agricultural credits on long term and at reasonable rates of interest.
- (f) Organisation of agriculture and public health.

(g) Reorganisation of the Department of Justice and a speedy settlement of outstanding cases.

(h) General reconstruction: improvement of water supply, and other public utilities.

(i) Extension of the railway from Mianeh to Tabriz thus connecting Tehran and Tabriz and facilitating trade.

Tehran recognised these demands as reasonable and practicable, and showed considerable wisdom in appointing M. Ali Mansur as Governor-General to study them and to carry them out. It is a noteworthy tribute to M. Mansur that, in spite of all sorts of difficulties, delays and frustrations, his personal reputation with all classes has steadily increased.

2. Obviously the initial clearing up of the chaos left by the Azerbaijan Democrats would take some time and most people realised this. Nevertheless, Russian-inspired propagandists inaugurated a "whispering campaign" to the effect that nothing was being done by the Government, that already bribery and corruption had raised their evil heads, and that the province could expect little in the future from the existing Government.

The Governor-General's first task was to counter this, and he set about doing so by—

- (a) Combing out untrustworthy elements in public office.
- (b) Making provision for destitute persons in Tabriz.
- (c) Arranging for loans to factory owners, and agricultural machinery and credits to farmers.
- (d) Investigating educational needs.
- (e) Setting up an agricultural bank.
- (f) Initiating work on Tabriz water supply.

So far so good—but two pressing problems remained: general security and unemployment. The province was (and still is) under martial law, and the military authorities set about the task of collecting the arms and ammunition that Pishevari had so recklessly distributed. While the majority of the citizens have shown their willingness to co-operate in this matter it

cannot be said that complete disarmament has been achieved, even in Tabriz. The existence of "caches" of arms and ammunition in the towns and certain country districts is suspected, probably rightly, and military search parties are still endeavouring to unearth these.

In regard to unemployment, the Governor-General saw the early beginning of public works (repair of streets and roads; the construction of new Government buildings; and work on the new railway) as a means of absorbing the labourers who were thronging the streets.

3. The Prime Minister, M. Qavam, did not apparently propose to visit Azerbaijan, and, slowly but surely, his reputation in Azerbaijan, which had been very high at the end of 1946, fell to zero. In February he sent M. Aramesh, Minister of Labour and Propaganda, to find out the prospects for the Iran Democrat Party in Azerbaijan, but the latter was forced to return with a discouraging reply. The Azerbaijanis, disillusioned at the complete lack of personal interest in them shown by M. Qavam, had decided to wipe him and his party off their political slate and to choose their own candidates for the forthcoming elections—men who could be relied upon to work for the good of the province. At the same time they were clear in their minds that no "leftists" would be given any support whatsoever.

The elections are not yet over in the province; the Rezaieh electorate began recording their votes on 21st June, but elections are still to be held in Maragheh, Mahabad, Ardebil and Ahar. True to their original intentions, the people have not favoured any pro-Russian candidates, and Russian prestige remains at a very low ebb.

4. The month of March found the Governor-General still busily engaged on the task of reorganisation and Government officials expressed their confidence that after the New Year (21st March) the results of their labours would become apparent and the people would begin to enjoy the results of the new Administration. The unemployed had every reason to hope so, as their plight was an unenviable one. New Year speeches by the Prime Minister in Tehran and by the Governor-General in Tabriz foreshadowed noteworthy improvements in Azerbaijan. Irrigation plans were announced, and it was said that steps had been taken to ensure the regular supply of food-stuffs

and other necessities; there would be greater loan facilities for agriculture and commerce; and unemployment would disappear with the public works to be undertaken.

The public, however, was not convinced. True, general security had been largely restored, although efforts to secure complete disarmament had had only a very limited success, but the man in the street felt that, in the three months that had elapsed since Tehran had resumed control, more could have been done to improve his lot. Long-term planning was all very well, but it looked as if his short-term needs had been forgotten in grandiose plans for the future.

Elections in Tabriz and district began on 19th March and in the city they evoked little interest as the electorate had apparently no great confidence in the candidates offering themselves, they being regarded mainly as opportunists who had no real interest in Azerbaijan.

5. By the end of April the Governor-General was satisfied that he and his officials could do no more towards laying solid foundations for the successful carrying out of the Government's plans. It was now incumbent upon Tehran to make good its promises and to furnish the necessary credits so that the work could be put in hand. He complained bitterly to me of the Government's dilatoriness in this regard. Azerbaijan seemed to have been forgotten—the Government were more concerned with politics than economics and he feared that all sections of the Azerbaijanis were becoming decidedly restive. What of the extensive public works of which they had heard so much? The unemployed were everywhere in evidence, and in the country districts the peasantry impatiently awaited the agricultural credits which they so sorely needed. Trade was stagnant and facilities for foreign commerce had not yet been made available. How long would the people continue to put up with their difficulties? Were they to be strained to breaking-point and thus become the prey of Communist propaganda? The Governor-General's anxiety was easily understood. But even he underestimated the staunchness and loyalty of this race of people who are Persian, and yet who exhibit qualities of character not often attributed to their compatriots of the south—there is a sturdiness, a deeply-rooted patriotism, a shrewd and sober judgment in their make-up which, given a

fair chance, would make them worthy citizens of any country. The potential richness of the province is evident to the most casual visitor. And all this was being neglected to a dangerous degree—in favour of the game of politics.

In no section of the population, however, did I find any sign of wavering; the people criticised and grumbled openly, but this was merely to prod an accepted régime and certainly not with a desire to see a renewal of a Government of the "Left."

6. The welcome accorded to the Shah when he began his tour of Azerbaijan on 25th May gave ample proof of the truth of these observations and I think it may safely be said that His Majesty himself was more than once surprised to learn how deep and universal were the sentiments which bound the Azerbaijanis to the Throne. The people forgot their wants and their difficulties—a somewhat careless and indifferent Central Government was appraised, once more, as to the kind of people they were. The Shah's evident concern for their welfare touched the hearts of all—here was a man who was King, statesman and practical man of affairs. His Majesty went to the core of all the leading problems: health, education and conditions obtaining in field and factory. Royal grants in aid were given where they were most needed, and Azerbaijan saw the visitor leave, not only as their Sovereign, but also as their friend. Any fears for the safety of the monarch amidst the "uncertain Azerbaijan mob" were proved to be groundless—superficial observers who declared that the Azerbaijani was at heart pro-Russian and was counting the days until Pishvari or some other of the same breed would restore Communism and separatism were confounded in most ample measure.

Coincident with these events was the beginning of an appreciable flow of credits for public works from Tehran, and it became possible for the authorities concerned to ease the unemployment problem by absorbing some labour. In the country districts too, work in the fields increased as harvest time drew nearer, and it was welcome news that the cereals crop (wheat and barley mainly) would be sufficiently abundant to meet the needs of the province, to build up a reserve of 60,000 to 70,000 tons, and possibly to allow for some export. Business, too, showed a slight improvement with the grant of facilities for trading abroad, and public security had reached a standard comparable with that established

by the Azerbaijan Democrats, which was no mean feat.

7. How far, then, have the authorities been able to meet the demands of the people as mentioned in paragraph 1 above? The fact must be recognised that, in general, the Azerbaijanis are disappointed, and this applies to all sections of the community. The leading Azerbaijan Democrats who did not escape to Russia and who were arrested have not been adequately punished (with the exception of Qazi Mahommed, the Kurdish Democrat leader, his two collaborators Seyf Gazi and Sadr Gazi, and Ibrihimi, Prosecutor-General) and it looks as if they may be able to bribe their way out of custody. And this leads to the second main complaint, namely, bribery. The officials sent by Tehran have proved to be capable and energetic but as time passes it has become more and more clear that the old pre-Azerbaijan Democrat days are returning and that the only way to get anything done by public servants is to pay for it. Credits for public works, and even the grants made by the Shah only reach their destination after several purses on the way have been filled. A purge of officials may take place—but how long will it be before their successors resort to the same practices?

Agricultural and commercial credits are still too restricted and the general economic life of Azerbaijan is cramped accordingly. Conditions in the country districts are bad, and it seems likely that during the coming winter they will become even more trying. They have never been good in Azerbaijan: the peasantry have known little else but want and misery: how eagerly they listened to the promises of the Azerbaijan Democrats who called them brothers, who foreshadowed milk and honey, and who gave them nothing. How eagerly they welcomed the events of last December as presaging better days for them at long last. And what has happened to justify their hopes? Very little.

The Azerbaijani is a patient animal but he is not inarticulate, and he will make his voice heard in Tehran in an endeavour to get his wrongs righted and his burden eased. It would be a major political blunder if he got the impression that the Central Government, in spite of his proved courage and loyalty, regarded him as an importunate nuisance.

W. MITCHELL CARSE.

14th July, 1947.

E 7009/40/34

No. 26

POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE MAJLIS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 2nd August)

(No. 856) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *2nd August, 1947.*

Scrutiny of Deputies' qualification will soon be completed. There are some [group undecipherable] objections which will be considered at to-morrow's session.

2. Prime Minister's party is threatened with disintegration. Some 30-40 Deputies, most of whom are nominal party members, are in open revolt and are prepared, if asked to do so, to follow the Shah against the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister's majority is, therefore, in His Majesty's

hands and Hikmat, who is in the Shah's confidence, tells me that the Shah is undecided what course to take. I told Hikmat that in my opinion essential requirement at present is unity. I have also pointed out that if the Prime Minister is prevented by irresponsible factions from forming new Government, it will be difficult to dispel impression that His Majesty has lent himself to a manoeuvre to prevent responsibility for a decision about Soviet oil agreement being placed squarely upon the Majlis where it belongs.

E 7437/1/34

No. 27

SUGGESTED PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 13th August)

(No. 888. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *13th August, 1947.*

The Soviet Ambassador on his return from Moscow saw the Prime Minister yesterday morning and following account of their meeting was given to me by M. Nikpay on Prime Minister's instructions.

2. Soviet Ambassador produced text of an agreement which embodies points covered in Prime Minister's letter to him of April 1946, and provides for conclusion within three months of a convention under which the joint company will operate. He said that this text had been approved by the Soviet Government, who expected it to be submitted to and passed by the Majlis without modification. They would judge by Persia's response whether she wished to have friendly relations with the Soviet Union or not. The Soviet Ambassador was under some emotional stress when presenting this demand.

3. The Prime Minister declared that political situation in this country had changed very considerably since his letter was written. If the Soviet Government insisted, he would submit the text which the Ambassador had given him to Majlis, but there was not the slightest prospect of it being passed by them. M. Sadchikov made light of this difficulty and enquired what Persian reaction would be if Soviet Govern-

ment were now to ask for a concession similar to that held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Prime Minister reminded him that when the Anglo-Iranian concession was first negotiated and again when it was renewed fourteen years ago, this country was ruled by autocratic monarchs who had absolute power over [group undecipherable] and property of all their subjects. To-day the position was radically different and it was quite impossible for him as Prime Minister to force the passage of a Bill against a majority in the Majlis. The rejection of this Bill by a large majority would certainly not promote the friendly relations which he had at heart and he therefore begged the ambassador to urge his Government to reconsider their attitude and to explore with him the possibility of some alternative form of agreement. M. Sadchikov would not undertake to do this, and the Prime Minister brought the meeting to an end by saying that he would give the matter further consideration.

4. It was assumed until yesterday's session that the Majlis would be fully constituted by the end of this week, but yesterday the minority opposed to Qavam broke the quorum and if they persist in these tactics, it may be some time before the Majlis can transact any business.

PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT: SOVIET PRESSURE FOR SIGNATURE

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 15th August)

(No. 897. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *15th August, 1947.*
My telegram No. 893.

The Prime Minister informed me this morning through M. Nikpay that he received a telephone call yesterday from the Soviet Ambassador urging him to appoint someone without further delay to "sign the agreement."

2. Prime Minister replied that the agreement would be submitted to the Majlis

at the first opportunity, but that this could not be done before the Majlis was legally constituted. M. Sadchikov urged the need for immediate action and asked to see the Prime Minister there and then. The Prime Minister, who was rather occupied yesterday, suggested 11 o'clock this morning but the ambassador thereupon changed his mind and said that no useful purpose would be served by further discussion.

CONDITION OF THE MAJLIS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th August)

(No. 900. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *14th August, 1947.*
My telegram No. 897.

I was received in audience by the Shah yesterday evening.

2. Prime Minister had previously informed His Majesty of his recent conversations with Soviet Ambassador and had begged him to allow Majlis to be constituted without further delay, for it is common knowledge that Deputies who have been obstructing lately are under the Shah's control.

3. The Shah admitted he was reluctant to agree to the constitution of a Majlis on which the Prime Minister would have the support of a tame majority which included various persons of doubtful patriotism and integrity. When asked for my opinion, I said that if the scrutiny of the mandate were allowed to hold up the formation of the constitutional Chamber much longer the impression would certainly be created that the real purpose of the delay was to postpone the possibility of a vote on the oil agreement. I said I could see no advantage in this. Since the Soviet Ambassador was pressing for action and the Prime Minister was prepared to act, this delay would be

generally attributed to His Majesty, who would thus find himself saddled with the sole responsibility of obstructing a decision. Apart from any question of constitutional principle, I felt His Majesty would be unwise to accept such a rôle.

4. The Shah said that he agreed with me and would discourage the obstructors. He also said that if the Majlis threw out the agreement the Prime Minister would have to resign, even if he did not speak in support of the Bill when introducing it in the Chamber and that in any case he would find it difficult to explain to the Russians why his party had voted against it. I said I thought the Prime Minister would be able to deal with the Majlis and that as regards the Russians I understand that he had already told the Soviet Ambassador that he could not compel his party to vote for the agreement.

5. During the general conversation which followed, the Shah expressed profound admiration for the manner in which the problem of India is being solved. He felt that it was bound to have a good effect upon relations between Great Britain and Persia.

(1) PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT

Mr. Roberts to Mr. Bevin. (Received 19th August)

(No. 1859) *Moscow,*
(Telegraphic) *18th August, 1947.*
Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement.

Pravda, only paper appearing to-day, carries Tehran Tass message dated 15th August stating that Soviet Ambassador visited the Persian Prime Minister on 12th August and handed him draft agreement for the organisation of a mixed Soviet-

Iranian Oil Corporation, in accordance with the Soviet-Iranian Agreement of 4th April, 1946.

2. Tass message adds that "after the text has been concerted and the treaty signed, the Persian Government must submit the treaty, as provided for by the agreement, for the approval of the Majlis."

Mr. Roberts to Mr. Bevin. (Received 19th August)

(No. 1860. Secret) *Moscow,*
(Telegraphic) *18th August, 1947.*
Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement. My immediately preceding telegram.

Publication of this message, although its terms are consistent with Persian Prime Minister's last statement to the Soviet Ambassador (Tehran telegram No. 897), suggests that Soviet Government are determined to maintain pressure and are not prepared to consider any alternative form of agreement, at all events until they have tried out the full effect of a war of nerves upon the Persians.

2. I have consulted the American Ambassador about story of Soviet troop concentrations reported in paragraph 2 of Tehran telegram No. 893. He confirmed my own impression that the American knew no more than we did about Soviet troop dispositions in Turkistan and Azerbaijan. Firouz had seen the American Military Attaché, who had mentioned a Turkish report of troop concentrations in those areas, and Firouz had evidently twisted this into a statement by the American Military Attaché no doubt with a view to frightening his Government. Turkish reports of Soviet troop concentrations have hitherto tended to be alarmist.

The American Ambassador and I consider that there are no doubt plenty of Soviet troops in those areas and that the Russians are putting about stories of their presence and movements as part of their war of nerves. In any case, far fewer than twelve divisions would presumably be enough to dispose of the Persian army if Soviet Government decided to go beyond a war of nerves. There is, however, no evidence here of any such intention.

3. I understand from the American Ambassador that the Soviet Government have also protested to the Persian Government about the withdrawal of Firouz from Moscow which they characterised as a further unfriendly act. I also understand that the Persian Government have rejected this protest and taken the line they have no confidence in Firouz. While I can well understand this point of view, this is not perhaps the happiest moment to have got rid of Firouz, who could at least discuss matters with high Soviet personalities. The embassy will not be in charge of overpowered and timid officials, with whom the Soviet Government are unlikely to hold any serious conversations at all.

E 7709/1/34

No. 31

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Bevin to Lord Inverchapel (Washington)

(No. 8410. Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *19th August, 1947.*

My telegram No. 639 to Tehran: Soviet-Persian oil negotiations.

I am thinking of replying further to the Persian Government as follows:—

2. In the first place I shall repeat my advice that the Persian Government should make it known to the world that they do not intend or desire to repudiate their undertakings and are prepared, subject to obtaining the necessary authority from the Majlis, to negotiate a detailed agreement with the Russians regarding oil based on the principles set forth in the documents signed in April 1946. It is clear that the Persian Government will wish during these negotiations to safeguard the interests of their country and that the new agreement to be negotiated will have to lay down the conditions under which the new joint Russian-Persian oil company will operate during the next fifty years. The principles already agreed will thus require much elaboration.

3. I shall then advise the Persian Government that, if the Majlis decides to reject the whole basis of the agreement reached between Qavam and the Soviet Ambassador in April 1946, it should in my

view be careful not to close the door absolutely on all negotiations with the Soviet Union in respect of north Persian oil, but should indicate on what lines it considers that a fresh agreement should be negotiated on terms which it may consider more satisfactory to Persia.

4. As regards Qavam's enquiry as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government and the United States Government if the Soviet Government send the Persians an ultimatum or resort to force, presumably the only possible reply is that, if at any time Persia can show that her independence or integrity has been seriously endangered, she should appeal to the Security Council. Our support for Persia's case on previous occasions sufficiently demonstrates our desire to see her independence respected. But we consider that it would be premature for Persia to appeal to the Security Council at this stage.

5. Please inform State Department and explain that, before replying to the Persians, I should like to have their views and to know how the State Department propose to reply to the enquiry which, it appears, they have also received from the Persian Prime Minister. I am particularly anxious that we should keep in step. Please ascertain this and inform me urgently.

E 7709/1/34

No. 32

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 639. Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *19th August, 1947.*

The Persian Ambassador called on me on 18th August and read out a telegram from the Persian Prime Minister. The telegram opened with an account of Qavam's conversations with the Soviet Ambassador on the lines already described in your telegrams. It then set out Qavam's views as follows: The Russians are very determined and are concentrating troops near Persian frontiers. A draft agreement on the lines desired by the Russians will now have to be submitted to the Majlis. If the Majlis reject it, the Russians might send the Persian Government an ultimatum. The Persian Government would reject it. They

could not tell what would happen after that, but the Russians might use force. Qavam wanted to know what help Persia's friends would give her in this eventuality apart from the moral support already available.

2. I said that I should need time to study the question before giving a final answer, but I could explain my general attitude to the question to the Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement at once. I had always thought that the Persian Prime Minister should keep the undertaking which he had given, but I had likewise always understood that any Soviet-Persian oil agreement which was finally concluded would be freely negotiated and would be fair and businesslike, and would satisfy the Persian Government

that their integrity was not endangered by it. It looked now very much as if the Persian Government were being handled in a "take it or leave it" manner and the present proceedings could hardly be described as negotiations at all. I thought that the Persian Government would be well advised to make it known to the world that they were not going back on any undertakings and were ready to negotiate an

agreement on terms acceptable to both parties, which did not threaten the integrity and independence of Persia.

3. In reply to my question, the Persian Ambassador said that his Government had addressed a similar enquiry to the United States Government.

4. Please inform Qavam of the reply which I made to the Persian Ambassador.

E 7757/1/34

No. 33

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: SOVIET ATTITUDE

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 22nd August)

(No. 914. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *21st August, 1947.*

Your telegram No. 639.

I saw the Prime Minister this afternoon and read out to him paragraph 2 of above telegram. The Prime Minister, who is ill again, was in bed. He expressed appreciation of your views but pointed out that he had not instructed M. Rais to make any enquiry. He had simply asked him to inform you of his recent conversations with the Soviet Ambassador.

2. The Prime Minister then gave me the following account of more recent developments. Just before he took to his bed again yesterday he received the Soviet Ambassador, who reiterated the request which he had made by telephone on 14th August (see my telegram No. 902). The Prime Minister explained once more that in view of the law of 2nd December, 1944, it was quite impossible for him or any other representative of the Persian Government to sign an agreement about oil unless they were specifically authorised to do so by the Majlis. He also pointed out that only one member of the Government which had approved his letter of last year was in the present Government. But in view of the ambassador's insistence he suggested that his request be referred to the Cabinet last night. The Cabinet's decision was communicated to M. Sadatkhov by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning. It fully endorsed the Prime Minister's reply and it also stated that as soon as the Majlis was constituted, its first duty would be to express approval or disapproval of all important measures taken since the previous Majlis was dissolved. The Qavam-Sadatkhov exchange of notes was one of these. If it were approved there would

be no legal impediment to negotiation of an agreement on the lines indicated. If it were not approved such negotiation would be impossible.

3. M. Sadatkhov told M. Humayunjah that he would inform his Government of the Cabinet's decision but he expressed the view that the Prime Minister was trying to "double cross" him and that by his vacillation and evasiveness he was jeopardising the independence of his country.

4. The Prime Minister enquired whether I wished to make any comment and I said that I did not, but he countered me by asking whether I thought the Soviet Ambassador's threat should be taken seriously. I said I could see no point in attempting to assess what lay behind the language used by M. Sadatkhov, but it was of the first importance that the Persian Government should determine now what attitude on their own part would be most consistent with the true interests of their country. The Prime Minister did not insist further, but he asked me to tell you he hoped very shortly to receive your comment on what he had just told me.

5. Events have now moved so far that I doubt whether any useful purpose would be served by giving M. Rais a further reply on lines suggested in your telegram No. 638. Apart from the fact that he appears to have made this enquiry on his own initiative he is most unlikely to be aware of what occurred yesterday. I would therefore suggest that any observations you may wish to make should take the form of a comment on the Prime Minister's latest request and I propose to deal with this in another telegram.

E 7772/1/34

No. 34

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: VIEWS OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 658. Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *27th August, 1947.*

Your telegrams Nos. 914 and 917 of 22nd August: Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement and Washington telegram No. 4610 of 21st August.

In view of the considerations which you set out in your telegram and since there is no prospect of associating the United States Government with us I agree that it would be better not to speak to the Persian Government on the lines of paragraph 2 of my telegram No. 8410 to Washington.

2. As regards paragraph 3 of my telegram No. 8410 to Washington, although I am anxious to avoid giving the Persians advice which is palpably divergent from the American line, I think that some advice along these lines is necessary in order that there may be no possible ground for any accusation that I have sought to obstruct the grant of oil facilities to the Russians in North Persia.

3. I think, therefore, that you should reply to the Persian Prime Minister's request for comments by saying that while His Majesty's Government obviously cannot express an opinion as to how seriously the Soviet Ambassador's threat should be taken, it is quite clear that they are in earnest about the North Persian oil question. It is, however, for the Majlis to take this decision regarding the exchange of letters in 1946. But the Persian Government may also wish to consider whether they would not be well advised to endeavour to ensure that the Majlis, if it rejects the 1946 letters, should in so doing make some gesture to mollify the Russians.

4. You should at the same time take the opportunity to tell Qavam that I am replying to his ambassador's enquiry on the lines of paragraph 4 of my telegram No. 8410 to Washington.

E 7959/40/34

No. 35

RESIGNATION OF THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 28th August)

(No. 925) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *28th August, 1947.*

My telegram No. 922.

Government resigned yesterday 27th August and, in accordance with precedent,

the Shah asked the President of the Majlis for the views of the Chamber on the choice of the new Prime Minister.

It is not expected that the President will be in a position to reply before next Sunday.

E 8157/1/34

No. 36

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: UNITED STATES VIEWS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 3rd September)

(No. 934. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *2nd September, 1947.*

Your telegrams Nos. 658 and 659.

I am to see the Prime Minister this morning and in the meantime have discussed with the American Ambassador the question in paragraph 3 of your telegram No. 658. Although Allen is still of the

opinion that little good and possibly some harm may be done by advising the Prime Minister to make a gesture "to mollify the Russians," he agrees with me that divergence between us is one of tactics and not of principle. In order to meet his views as far as possible, I propose in speaking to the Prime Minister to avoid as far as

possible form of words suggested at the end of your instruction and to substitute the following: "should in doing so make it clear to the Soviet Government that they have no wish to endanger possibility of

further discussion of the subject." I hope you will approve my action in making this verbal change so as to bring me as far as possible into step with Allen.

E 8135/1/34

No. 37

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 3rd September)

(No. 935. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *2nd September, 1947.*

My telegram No. 934.

I saw Prime Minister this morning and spoke to him as instructed in your telegram No. 658. As regards the instruction in paragraph 4 of your telegram No. 8410 to Washington, the Prime Minister said that Persian Ambassador had confirmed the fact that a message in this sense had been given him in your name by the Under-Secretary of State and he desired me to thank you for it.

2. Prime Minister then said that he had received a report to the effect that Russians had assembled in the vicinity of Azerbaijan frontier a large number of Persian refugees estimated at about 10,000 and among them Mullah Mustafa and his Barzanis. It was suspected that before long this irregular force might attempt to enter Persian territory, and if they did they would, of course, be resisted by every means available to the Persian Government. But the Prime Minister thought the Soviet Government might seek to exploit such a situation by invoking article 6 of 1921 treaty and he therefore enquired whether penetration of Persian territory by this irregular force would in itself constitute sufficient basis for an appeal to the Security Council. I said that naturally I was in no way qualified to

answer such a question, but that it seemed to me clear that answer unquestionably depends upon scale of penetration and ability of Persian forces to deal with it effectively.

3. Prime Minister then told me that when presenting draft oil agreement to him for signature (see my telegram No. 888) Soviet Ambassador had conveyed a message from his Government to the following effect:—

If, he said, the agreement were now to be concluded, the Soviet Government would regard the Prime Minister and his country as bound to them by ties of intimate friendship and would be prepared for closest possible collaboration with them. If drafted agreement were not concluded they would regard the Prime Minister, the Persian Government and the Persian people as their "blood enemies."

Prime Minister said that he had felt bound to protest at violence of ambassador's language which seemed to him altogether inappropriate to present situation, the only point of difference between them being whether agreement should be signed or not before it was submitted to the Majlis. As ambassador knew, he was categorically forbidden by Persian law to sign such an agreement without the approval of the Majlis.

E 8213/1/34

No. 38

CURRENT PROBLEMS: TALK WITH THE SHAH

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 5th September)

(No. 946. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *4th September, 1947.*

I dined with the Shah last night and remained with him for nearly four hours, during which we discussed the present situation here in all its aspects.

2. I took the opportunity to speak to His Majesty on the same lines as I did to the Prime Minister two days ago (see my telegram No. 935). The Shah was more receptive than I had expected to this advice. He asked whether I had discussed the

matter with the American Ambassador, and whether I thought it advisable that he should do so himself. I said I thought there was everything to be gained by a free and frank discussion of the matter with Mr. Allen and I made it clear that I invariably pursued this course with him. The Shah expressed agreement and said he would act accordingly.

3. Amongst other matters the Shah referred to the prospect of forming a new

Government. Although he did not dot the "I's," I have little doubt that he is determined to get rid of Qavam as soon as vote on oil agreement has been taken, but that as yet he has not yet decided how to set about it or whom to appoint in Qavam's place. If the Majlis couples its rejection of the oil agreement with a vote of confidence in Qavam, it will of course be difficult for the Shah to dismiss him without infringing the Constitution.

E 7757/1/34

No. 39

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Bevin to Sir J. Le Rougetel (Tehran)

(No. 675. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *5th September, 1947*

The Persian Ambassador called here on 2nd September on the instructions of Qavam in order to communicate in the strictest confidence further developments with regard to the Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement.

2. After recounting the events reported in the second and third paragraphs of your telegram No. 914 of 21st August, he said that on 28th August the Soviet Ambassador called on Qavam at his house privately, the latter having at that time resigned office, and handed to Qavam an official note on the following lines:—

The message communicated to the Soviet Ambassador by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs amounted to a refusal to sign the agreement, the text of which the Soviet Government had communicated to him and was therefore a violation of the undertaking given by the Persian Government in 1946. Refusal by the Persian Government to sign this agreement forthwith amounted to a reversion to a policy of hostility towards the Soviet Government.

3. The Soviet Ambassador added orally that if the agreement were signed forthwith the Soviet Government would give Persia every possible economic and financial assistance. If it were not signed, the Persian Government and people would be considered to have adopted a hostile attitude.

4. Qavam replied that there was no hostility whatsoever towards the Soviet Union. He pointed out that for constitutional reasons he had resigned office and was not at that moment Prime Minister. If he were nominated again and were given a vote of confidence by the Majlis, he would submit the 1946 letters to the Majlis. If the letters were approved, he would negotiate an agreement for the setting up of the Soviet-Persian Oil Company and submit it to the Majlis for approval. He could do no more.

5. The Persian Ambassador said that his report concluded by stating that the Soviet Ambassador had subsequently called on the Shah and spoken to him in the same vein. The note which the Soviet Ambassador had handed to Qavam was as yet unanswered.

E 8372/40/34

No. 40

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 11th September)

(No. 339) *Tehran,*
Sir, *2nd September, 1947*

With reference to my despatch No. 332 of 27th August, I have the honour to report that the Cabinet having resigned in

accordance with custom a secret session of the Majlis was held on 28th August to choose a Prime Minister. No result was reached and a decision was postponed until 30th August to give the Government's

Party and the Opposition a chance to settle their differences.

2. According to several political commentators in the newspapers, the Opposition used this opportunity to put forward an offer to vote for Qavam if he would undertake (a) not to present to Parliament his agreement with the Soviet Ambassador about the formation of a joint Russo-Persian Company to exploit oil in northern Persia, and (b) to include in his Cabinet three or four men acceptable to themselves. This offer was, however, reported to have been refused.

3. At a second secret meeting held on 30th August at which 116 members were present 78 votes were given for Qavam al Saltaneh, 34 for Husain Pirnia, 1 for Husain Sami'i and three papers were returned blank.

4. Husain Pirnia has been in retirement and failing health for some years and the Opposition's vote for him was merely a manoeuvre. They had no hope that he could accept even if chosen (in fact he died two days later) but by making him their candidate they avoided the risk of splitting their ranks which would have arisen if they

had tried to find a real alternative to Qavam.

5. In the afternoon of the same day the Shah invited Qavam to form a new Government. It was everywhere assumed that he would accept without demur and there was much surprise when on the following day (31st August) the *Democrat of Iran*, the official organ of Qavam's Party, announced that he had not accepted the Shah's invitation.

6. The position at the time of closing this despatch is that Qavam has so far neither refused nor accepted the Shah's invitation to him to form a Cabinet. His purpose is probably to obtain an assurance of support and confidence from the Shah before making a decision. He is no doubt aware that the Shah has had it in mind to dismiss him so soon as the Majlis rejects the Russo-Persian Oil Agreement, adumbrated in the Qavam-Sadchikov notes of April 1946 and it is understandable that he should not be prepared to accept office on such terms.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Bagdad and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 8455/1/34

No. 41

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: UNITED STATES VIEWS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th September)

(No. 970) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *11th September, 1947*

My telegram No. 958: Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement.

United States Ambassador has released to the press text of a speech he will make to-night at a dinner of the Persian-American Society.

2. Speech contains a passage affirming American opposition to attempts to extract concessions from Persia under threats or duress.

3. It begins by saying that United States Government has frequently made known its respect for the sovereignty of Persia and that an important aspect of sovereignty is the full right of a country to dispose as it wishes of its own natural resources. After adding that the United States has not

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proper concern with commercial proposals made solely on their own merits "to stand or fall on their value to Persia," statement continues textually as follows:—

However, we and every other nation of the world do become concerned when such proposals are accompanied by threats of bitter enmity or by statements that it would be dangerous for Persia to refuse. The United States is firm in its conviction that any proposals made by one sovereign Government to another should not be accompanied by threats or intimidations. When such methods are used in an effort to obtain acceptance, doubt is cast on the value of the proposals themselves.

The United States has dedicated its full energy and resources to freeing the peoples

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of the world from the fear of aggression. Our determination to follow this policy as regards Persia is as strong as it is anywhere else in the world. This purpose can be achieved to the extent the Persian people show determination to defend their own

sovereignty. Patriotic Persians, when considering matters affecting their national interest, may, therefore, rest assured that the American people will support fully their freedom to make their own choice.

E 8456/1/34

No. 42

(1)

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: ALLEGED BRITISH NOTE

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 693) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) 12th September, 1947.

Following is extract from Associated Press message published in *Manchester Guardian* of 12th September, which begins by quoting United States Ambassador's statement reported in your telegram No. 970 [of 11th September]:—

British note to Persia.

The receipt by the Persian Government of a British note recommending Persia not to close the door to Russian oil negotiations is officially reported here to-day. It was delivered to the Premier by the British Ambassador last week before he left for a vacation in London. The note said that Britain recommended that, "even though Parliament rejects the pending oil concession, Persia should not refuse to continue discussions with the Russians."

A leading Tehran paper speculates that an "agreement on Persian oil has been

reached between Russia, Britain, and probably America."

An American Embassy spokesman said he was advised of the note by the British Ambassador on the day before his departure to London. He expressed "regret" that the note was sent, "because of the probable effects on the Persians, who are already jittery over threats of Russian aggression, and who may take the note as an indication that they are unsupported in their fight to retain their national integrity."

This theory is apparently supported by editorial speculation in a number of Tehran papers that Russia and Britain have agreed to divide Persia into two spheres of influence along lines similar to those set out in the agreement of 1907.

2. Please see my immediately following telegram.

(2)

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 694) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) 12th September, 1947.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Please draw the attention of the United States Ambassador to the statement attributed by the Associated Press to the American Embassy spokesman and tell him that this has caused a deplorable impression here.

2. In reply to press enquiries here about this Associated Press report, we are taking the following line:—

The British Embassy in Tehran have sent no note to the Persian Government about

the Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement. We have suggested that, if the present draft agreement were rejected, the Persian Government might be well advised to leave the door open for further discussions, but we have never suggested that the Persian Government ought to do anything which they felt would endanger their independence and integrity.

On the contrary, we have always made it clear to the Persian Government that it is for them to make up their own minds about oil concession. The suggestion that there might be agreement or discussions with

Russia to divide Persia into spheres of influence is so preposterous as to suggest malice. It would be contrary to His Majesty's Government's whole policy.

It should be self-evident that His Majesty's Government is as determined as ever to respect and support the inde-

pendence of Persia. The attitude taken by His Majesty's Government during the discussions of the Persian appeal in the Security Council is sufficient evidence of this.

3. You may take the same line.

E 8489/1/34

No. 43

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: PERSIAN DENIAL OF BRITISH INTERVENTION

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th September)

(No. 977) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) 14th September, 1947.

My immediately preceding telegram: Persian-Soviet Oil Agreement.

M. Qavam last night issued the following *démenti* of "Ettela-At's Articles":—

"1. As regards the British Ambassador's conversation and the rumours that he had advised the Persian Government not to break off conversations on the oil question and even to continue them in the event of the Majlis rejecting the Government's proposals, I categorically deny this report since Sir J. Le Rougetel made no declaration of this kind in his conversation. On the contrary, he emphasised that the British attitude is not to intervene or to exert the slightest influence in oil questions.

"2. As for the Soviet Ambassador's conversation with me on the question of the oil in the north, I must point out that on his return from Moscow the Soviet Ambassador handed me the text of an agreement which he asked should be signed by us both and submitted to Parliament for approval. Since, in view of the legal difficulties, I could not sign this treaty before it had been debated by Parliament, I could not accept the proposal. Moreover, I replied that, when I had reported to Parliament, it would be possible for me to submit the draft of this treaty to the

Chamber of Deputies without signing it and to leave it to the Majlis to decide whether to approve it. In the course of another conversation the Soviet Ambassador confirmed his first proposal in an official note. This note had to be answered and therefore when the Government had been formed and the project discussed by the Council of Ministers, a reply was drafted at the first session of the new Cabinet in accordance with the original attitude of the previous Government and sent to the Soviet Ambassador.

"3. As regards the secret agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union on the problem of oil and the other questions concerning our country, I declare that this report bears no relation to the truth and may be ignored: for after all the sacrifice made by the Great Powers of the world to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of peoples, and in view of the existence of important international organisations, it is impossible that the Great Powers should come to an understanding aimed at destroying the independence and territorial integrity of another country. It goes without saying that in the world of to-day anxieties and fears of this kind are completely groundless."

E 8463/40/34

No. 44

PERSIAN LABOUR POLICY

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 707) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) 18th September, 1947.

Your telegram No. 974 of 12th September: New Persian Cabinet.

I am disturbed by the possibility that the Ministry of Labour may not be retained as a separate Ministry.

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2. The labour legislation which has been passed during the past eighteen months is the most striking evidence which the Persian Government can produce to show that they intend to put their affairs in order. The reduction of the Ministry of Labour to the status of a section

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of some other Ministry would be widely interpreted as meaning that the Persian Government are no longer interested in the improvement of conditions for factory workers, and that pressure from Persian factory owners has been too much for them. It would be most unfortunate for Persia if this impression were to spread in this country and the United States.

3. I shall therefore be grateful if you would take an early opportunity of raising this question with Qavam. It might be as well to do so on the lines that you assume that no appointment to the Ministry of Labour has yet been made because of the difficulty of finding a suitable man for the post. You should explain that I do not

wish to interfere in the way Qavam runs his country, but feel that he may be insufficiently aware of the repercussions on Persia's international position were he to decide that the Ministry of Labour should be reduced to the status of a section of some other Ministry.

4. We do not wish to suggest any names for the post but, for your own information, hope that it will not again be entrusted to Muzaffar Firuz, and leave it to you to give Qavam a hint to this effect if you have the opportunity. It will also be useful if you could remind Qavam of the incongruity of attaching the Persian Government's information services to the Ministry of Labour.

E 8957/1/34

No. 45

SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 27th September)

(No. 1008) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *27th September, 1947*
Following received from Tehran, telegram No. 215 of 26th September:—

"I have received reports from Marand and Khoi to the effect that there are considerable concentrations of Russian troops in Russian Julfa.

"2. General officer commanding in Azerbaijan and chief of gendarmerie passed through Marand on the morning of 26th September on their way to Julfa.

"3. Persians are said to be rushing troops from Khoi to the frontier area and to be fortifying Darreh Diz, which is between Marand and Julfa."

E 9033/1/34

No. 46

SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th September)

(No. 1017. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *29th September, 1947*
Tabriz telegram No. 215, repeated to you as telegram No. 1008: Russian troop movements.

The Persian Prime Minister to-day read me a telegram he had received from military authorities at Julfa. The telegram spoke of movement of tanks and motor transport by night on the Russian side of the frontier but said nothing specific about reinforcements.

2. In reply to my question Qavam told me that there was nothing more alarming in this report than in similar reports of a few weeks ago. His own feeling was, that if the Russians wished to impose pressure,

they would not do so by direct military intervention but would first infiltrate troublesome elements such as Barzanis with Russian [group undecipherable: ? supplies] and stiffening and that later when those elements were in conflict with Persian forces they might consider direct intervention, possibly mentioning the treaty of 1921, although terms of that treaty in no way cover such a situation.

3. I expressed personal agreement with Qavam's appreciation, but added the view that our experiences in Greece had shown that though the Soviet Government might give clandestine support and assistance to such movements, they would be likely to hesitate before committing themselves at all

openly and to hesitate still more before taking so radical a step as direct military intervention.

4. Military attaché is to pay a farewell visit to the military authorities in North-West Persia later this week and will take

the opportunity to discuss these reports with the Governor-General and with General Officer commanding Azerbaijan, with both of whom he is on very friendly personal terms.

E 9036/40/34

No. 47

PERSIAN LABOUR POLICY

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 30th September)

(No. 1018) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *29th September, 1947.*
Your telegram No. 707: Persian Ministry of Labour.

I carried out your instructions in an interview with Prime Minister this morning, adding that a favourable impression had been caused at I.L.O. Conference at Geneva by the measures taken in last eighteen months by Ministry of Labour, and that we were keenly interested in this aspect of the Persian Government's policy.

2. The Prime Minister assured me that he had no intention of letting Ministry be down-graded to the level of a section of another office and that he would submit to the Majlis as soon as possible a Bill giving necessary legislative basis to establish the Ministry of Labour.

3. I learn that the American Ambassador spoke in the same sense as I did last week and that Qavam at the time had said he would look into the matter.

E 9364/9364/34

No. 48

UNITED STATES POLICY IN PERSIA

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th October)

(No. 388) *Tehran,*
Sir, *1st October, 1947*

I have the honour to report that press and political circles in this country have not been slow in interpreting the recent visit by a delegation from the Congress Standing Committee on the Armed Services to Persia as a sign of increased American strategic interest. This delegation is quite distinct from the Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee who, as I understand from Washington telegram No. 181, Saving, are to visit Persia this month.

2. The party arrived at Tehran on 26th September and left again on 28th September. It consisted of seven Congress men and one woman, who were accompanied by the following serving officers of the United States armed forces:—

Rear-Admiral Clifford Swanson,
Brigadier-General Ralph Sterl,
Colonel Charles Macdonald,
Major Luke Quinn,

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and by Mr. R. E. Ward, representative of the State Department. In a public statement, the leader of the Congress delegation, Mr. Short, defined the purpose of the journey to be that of investigating the situation in Europe, Africa and the Middle East from military, economic, political and social view-points. He went on to say that the delegation's duty was to prepare a report of the actual situation and present it to the United States Congress and to the Government, so that, after a thorough study, they might be able to draw up their "main project." It is also stated that the Congress delegation had a particular interest in the United States Military and Gendarmerie Missions in this country under Generals Grow and Schwartzkopf; and the Persian press have seized upon this to point out that these missions are in no sense American representatives but are in the pay of the Persian Government; and that, in concerning themselves with these

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missions, the delegation appear to be counting Persia among those countries where American forces are stationed.

3. In the course of their visit, the delegation called on the Prime Minister, the Minister for War and the Chief of General Staff and addressed representatives of the Tehran press. The American Ambassador gave a large dinner-party for the delegation on the evening of 26th September, to which he invited leading figures of Persian political life, including eight Deputies, five of whom were supporters of the Government and three members of the Opposition. The inclusion of the latter incurred the displeasure of the Prime Minister, who is particularly sensitive to such matters at the moment, since he is almost daily a target of violent personal attacks in the Majlis from members of the Opposition. He expressed his displeasure to the ambassador the following day, but his dudgeon scarcely lasted twenty-four hours and he was sufficiently mollified to be persuaded, albeit with some show of petulant reluctance, to attend the charity garden-party given on the following afternoon by Mrs. Allen and the ladies of the United States Embassy.

4. Additional point has been given to the visit of the Congress delegation by the fact that it followed, by only a fortnight's interval, the statement by the United States Ambassador in support of Persian integrity and independence, which I reported in my telegram No. 970. The ambassador intends to continue an active policy de-

signed to keep up the self-confidence of the Persian Government in the face of Soviet pressure, and to obtain an early and clear-cut decision from the Majlis on the subject of the Soviet-Persian oil agreement. He has, however, assured me that, in doing so, he has no intention in any way of precipitating events or of forcing the Prime Minister's hand. In pursuing this policy, he is clearly assisted by any evidence of United States strategic interest in this part of the world, though such manifest interest is quickly seized upon by Soviet propaganda and by the Left-wing press as evidence of the selfish motives behind United States policy and of United States interference in this country's affairs.

5. I have been unable hitherto to obtain confirmation of further rumours in circulation to the effect that there is shortly to be a visit by United States naval units to ports in the Persian Gulf, but, as reported by His Majesty's Ambassador in his despatch No. 172 of 21st May, 1947, such a visit was to be expected in the autumn. If it takes place, it will also be interpreted here as a sign of the United States Government's readiness to give strong support to Persia; and resented, in certain circles, as further United States interference in Persian affairs.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

E 9348/1/34

No. 49

SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS: WITHDRAWAL FROM FRONTIER AREAS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th October)

(No. 1042. Secret) Tehran.
(Telegraphic) 8th October, 1947.

My telegram No. 1022: Soviet troop movements.

Persian Chief of General Staff to-day told assistant military attaché that these

additional Soviet troops were all withdrawn from the frontier about 4th October, upon conclusion of manoeuvres and that frontier garrisons were back to former strength.

E 9521/40/34

No. 50

POLICY OF THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 14th October)

(No. 395)

Sir,

Tehran, 6th October, 1947

With reference to my despatch No. 378 of 23rd September, I have the honour to report that the Majlis debate on the Prime Minister's statement of policy ended on 5th October, when a conditional vote of confidence was given to the Government by 93 votes to 12, with 15 abstentions. These figures suggest that Qavam al Saltaneh has improved his position since the first vote was given in his favour on 30th August (my despatch No. 339 of 2nd September) when he received only seventy-eight votes.

2. Before this meeting of the Majlis lengthy discussions had taken place between the Democrats and the Opposition about the manner in which the vote of confidence should be taken. The Opposition insisted that it should cover only the Prime Minister's ten-point programme (see enclosure to my despatch No. 363) and should not imply approval of his Administration while the Majlis was in dissolution. The Democrats at first refused to consider any such proposal. The Opposition thereupon threatened to prevent a vote of confidence from being taken at all by absenting themselves from the Majlis. (There are 123 Deputies in Tehran, of whom ninety-three must be present to form a quorum for a vote.)

3. This manoeuvre seems to have forced the hands of the Democrats, who ultimately agreed to accept a resolution terminating the debate in the following terms:—

"As the Prime Minister has promised, in his speech on his policy, gradually to report in detail to the Majlis on the work of his period of office and, as the Majlis will then have ample time fully to discuss, from every aspect, everything that has been done during that period and to consider and judge each action separately, it is proposed that the debate should be closed and that vote of confidence should be taken on the ten-point programme of his Cabinet."

This resolution was passed unanimously, and thereafter the division took place with the results which I have already described.

4. During the earlier meetings which were devoted to this debate since I wrote my despatch under reference, the speakers

continued, in the main, to criticise Qavam al Saltaneh's past record rather than to discuss his plans for the future, and there was a good deal of washing of dirty linen on both sides.

5. On the 28th September, for the first time, the oil question was directly raised. Abbas Mas'udi, a Deputy for Tehran (and owner of *Ettela'at*), proposed that the following additional item should be added to the Government's ten-point programme:—

"The Government will take immediate measures to survey the natural resources of the country, especially petrol, and will entrust the exploitation of these resources on reasonable terms solely to Persian companies and capitalists. The exploiting companies shall be able to make agreements for the sale of their produce to foreign purchasers after having obtained the approval of the Cabinet."

He supported this proposal with a long speech, in which he outlined a scheme whereby Persians should themselves undertake the development of new oil-fields in the north and in other parts of the country where oil was believed to be obtainable, and also progressively assume direct control of the established fields in the south. There was, however, no mention of any proposal to modify or abrogate the concession, and I do not consider that any great importance should be given to this reference to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which was brought in more to give an appearance of impartiality and balance to the speech than in order to make any specific proposal.

6. On the 2nd October Abbas Iskandari, a well-known supporter of the Tudeh Party, also spoke about oil. He urged the Government to occupy Bahrein by force, to cancel the extension of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession sanctioned in 1933, and to reconsider immediately the articles of the concession dealing with the payments to be made by the company to the Persian Government, the restrictions placed on the company's operations, and the disposal of the company's property on the expiry of the concession. He expressed no opinion on the Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement of April 1946.

7. In his speech winding up the debate the Prime Minister answered his critics. He spoke about the necessity for martial law in certain parts of the country and defended its use as a means of controlling the press. He foreshadowed a law for the creation of a Senate in accordance with the Constitution, and again justified his actions in dealing with Azerbaijan. In regard to oil, he promised to submit to the House a special report on the agreement which he had concluded with the Soviet Government.

8. The next meeting will be held on the 7th October and will be devoted to the election of a President and his assistants. Under the Constitution this election has to take place twice yearly, on 7th October and 4th March.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow, Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

E 9348/1/34

No. 51

(1)

SOVIET TROOP MOVEMENTS: PERSIAN PROTEST

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 766)
(Telegraphic)

*Foreign Office,
13th October, 1947.*

Persian Embassy have informed us on the strength of a telegram from Tehran that Persian Government sent a note to Soviet

Embassy asking for recall of extra Russian troops alleged to have been brought to the frontier.

2. Have you any information about this *démarche*?

E 9710/1/34

(2)

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 17th October)

(No. 1065)
(Telegraphic)

*Tehran,
16th October, 1947.*

Your telegram No. 766 and my telegram No. 1063: Russian troop movements.

Russian troop movements.
Ministry for Foreign Affairs tells me that they sent a note to this effect to the Soviet Embassy on about 1st October. Note stated that apparent presence of large

number of Soviet troops on Persian frontiers, and movement of those troops, were giving rise to abnormal conditions on the frontier: the Persian Government therefore asked that the troops should be removed so that situation might return to normal. Persian Ambassadors in London and Washington were instructed to inform Governments to which they were accredited.

E 9753/1/34

No. 52

PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 18th October)

(No. 1068)
(Telegraphic)

*Tehran,
17th October, 1947.*

My telegram No. 1039: Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement.

Conjecture is rife about the contents of the Prime Minister's report and the form of its presentation on 19th October. Qavam

has hitherto refused to be drawn, even by enquiries from his supporters in Majlis, and it is not yet known whether the Chamber will meet in public session or *in camera* and whether the report will be a general one or limited to the oil question.

2. Tudeh newspaper *Razm* points out that submission of the report without recommendations is not in accord with undertaking in Sadatkhov-Qavam letters, which was to submit a draft Bill; and it regards the present proposal as a manoeuvre by Qavam to avoid defeat in the Chamber.

3. Majlis opposition also is taking the line that a "report" is inadequate and that the Government should associate itself either with acceptance or rejection of the letters.

4. United States Ambassador's sudden departure for a four-day visit to Angora, which will coincide with Majlis meeting on 19th October, has also given rise to conjecture. The *Journal de Tehran* contrasted this week-end trip with the absence of His Majesty's Ambassador until November and

draws the conclusion that the United States Government are more closely preoccupied with the oil question than His Majesty's Government, who "are not, in fact, intervening in the question, although reports to the effect that they would be in favour in the event of pressing danger to Persia of a friendly agreement seems to correspond with British policy on this issue."

5. Though there have been rumours to this effect, there is no evidence whatever that the Soviet Embassy are prepared to contemplate anything else than the terms of the 1946 exchange of letters, for submission of which to the Majlis they continue to press.

The Ministry for Foreign Affairs have no knowledge of any readiness on the Russian side to contemplate a compromise.

E 9896/1/34

No. 53

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: ATTITUDE OF THE MAJLIS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 22nd October)

(No. 1082)

Tehran,

(Telegraphic) *22nd October, 1947.*

My telegram No. 1072: Majlis and the oil question.

Prime Minister's report is to be submitted to the Chamber to-day. Last night the Majlis met in secret session and, according to a reliable source, a draft law covering the four points was proposed for discussion in the open session to-day.

- The Qavam-Sadatkhov letters to be considered null and void.
- The Persian Government to carry out during the next five years geological exploration of North Persian oil-bearing areas: it shall then be authorised to discuss exploitation with the Soviet Government.
- As Persia considers the terms of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company concession inequitable, and does not approve of its renewal in 1953 on these terms, it is the duty of the Government to open negotiations with His Majesty's Government on this subject.
- As Bahrein forms part of Persia, it is the duty of the Government to enforce its rule there.

2. This story has now appeared in the press, and articles supporting it have

explained that the Majlis is to take the opportunity presented by submission of the Prime Minister's report to re-define Persian foreign policy so as to disapprove the allegations that the Government and the Majlis have adopted an anti-Russian attitude. *Journal de Tehran* says that a general revision of Persian foreign relations is necessary, especially with Russia and Great Britain, so as to safeguard Persian national rights and the basic principle of equilibrium between the influences of Persia's neighbours. It adds that the Government and Majlis are confident that this policy will be approved by the United States, and also by His Majesty's Government which has ventured on a courageous policy of recognising India's sovereign rights, and by the Soviet Government which is always champion of rights of weak countries at United Nations.

3. Tudeh newspaper *Razm* on the other hand rejects the whole project as a childish manoeuvre which barely conceals the one-sided intention to repudiate Qavam-Sadatkhov agreement. It says there is clearly no serious intention to implement [group undecipherable: ? Anglo-American] dealings with the A.I.O.C. and Bahrein, which are quite unconnected with the other issue.

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS: RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE MAJLIS

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 24th October)

(No. 1088) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *23rd October, 1947.*

My telegram No. 1083: Majlis and oil question.

Resolution adopted last night by majority of 102 to 2 differs considerably from draft reported in my telegram No. 1082, omitting all mention of Bahrein, and considerably modifying the reference to A.I.O.C.

2. Official text is not yet available and various different versions appear in the press briefly; points (a) and (b) in my telegram No. 1082 appear to be substantially unchanged, except that "exploitation" in (b) should read "sale of oil products." A new provision is then added prohibiting negotiation of oil concession in any form and the creation of oil companies with a foreign interest.

3. (c) is modified into a formula on the following lines:—

"The Government may open negotiations and take the necessary measures, in all questions where the rights of the Persian people about the country's national resources have been prejudiced and especially as regards the renewal of the South Persian Oil Concession."

4. Qavam, in a statement made just after above resolution had been proposed, said that he had been obliged to sign exchange of letters to save the people at a time when assassinations were occurring in Azerbaijan, and when Tehran was practically encircled. Any patriot would have done the same. He urged that the measure should not be hastily passed without reference to the competent commissions and that the Majlis should leave the door open for further negotiations with the Soviet Union.

POLITICAL SITUATION: POSITION OF M. QAVAM

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 28th October)

(No. 1106. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *28th October, 1947.*

Persian political situation.

Now that oil question is at least temporarily out of the way, there is some uncertainty about the position of the Prime Minister, who is again ill and is now being attacked personally in Soviet press and wireless transmissions.

2. Though Qavam's relations with the Shah are believed to have improved recently, both on account of his handling of the oil situation and because his pro-

posal to create a Senate (see my despatch No. 395, paragraph 7) is believed to be in accordance with His Majesty's ideas about desirability of political reform, there is no reason to think that the Shah has given up his wish to be rid of Qavam (see Tehran telegram No. 946).

3. On the other hand, Qavam's position in the Majlis and in the country is probably stronger than it was before. This in itself makes his relations with the Shah more difficult.

POLITICAL SITUATION: POSITION OF M. QAVAM

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 28th October)

(No. 1107. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *28th October, 1947.*

Persian political situation.

Salman Assadi has now come to see me urgently at Prime Minister's request and fully confirms description in my immediately preceding telegram.

2. The Shah is apparently furious with Qavam because an important Opposition Deputy (whose name was not revealed to me) has now declared his adherence to Government, while Qavam is humiliated that the Shah bestowed decorations yesterday on His Majesty's birthday without consulting him. He expects some further rash action by the Shah in the near future which would probably take the form of undermining his position in the Majlis by an approach to a number of Deputies who are expected to obey the Shah's orders. This would, I think, be in line with the Shah's known views about increasing his influence and perhaps emulating his father by trying to establish personal rule.

3. Salman Assadi went on to suggest that some intervention on my part would be helpful. He said that the interests of the country demanded a stable and honest

Government, that the only possible alternative to Qavam is M. Taqizadeh, and that the time for this change would not come in less than three to four months, which would be necessary for M. Taqizadeh to familiarise himself with general situation. I replied that I would be very loth to intervene in any way in so delicate a matter and would certainly take no initiative without instructions from you, but that, if asked for my opinion, I would do what I could to discourage any sudden or precipitous decision.

4. In the changing circumstances since His Majesty's Ambassador last spoke to the Shah on this subject (see Tehran telegram No. 856 and telegram No. 857) it may well be that any advice given should be somewhat less positive. If summoned by the Shah and asked for my view I would be non-committal as to whether Qavam should go or not, but would limit myself to saying that if he was superseded it should not be done in too hurried or undignified a fashion, which would make a bad impression abroad as suggesting lack of gratitude and generosity.

(1)

SOVIET POLICY IN AZERBAIJAN

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th October)

(No. 1110. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *29th October, 1947.*

Situation in Azerbaijan.

My immediately following telegram is a repeat of Tabriz telegram No. 232 to me giving an estimation of Russian reactions to recent Majlis resolution as affecting Azerbaijan.

2. Soviet tactics described in paragraph 2 (b) seem to represent the greatest danger in the long run. The only effective counter-measure would be for the Persian Government itself to undertake more long-term planning and capital development in Azerbaijan than elsewhere; for it is idle to

expect individual Persian business men to invest money in so exposed a province.

3. Recent reports suggest that the Government are falling far short of the promises made to the people of Azerbaijan by the Shah during his tour last summer, that very little progress is being made with public works and that even in the case of the railway very few men are being employed and work is proceeding very slowly. In consequence there is a risk of unemployment continuing into the winter and great distress being caused which could in the long run only be favourable to Russian propaganda.

4. I would propose, if you see no objection, to take early opportunity of raising this matter with the Minister for Foreign Affairs or the Prime Minister, though I

have little hope that such representation would have any effect. Have you any further instructions?

E 10122/1/34

(2)

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 29th October)

(No. 1111) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) *29th October, 1947.*

Following is repetition of Tabriz telegram No. 232 of 25th October:—

"The resolution has caused profound satisfaction generally, although this is tempered by some anxiety as to what Russian reaction will be.

"2. Military action in Azerbaijan by the Russians is held to be highly improbable but it is widely believed that infiltration of highly-skilled Soviet agents can be expected with the effect of—

"(a) Creating feeling against the Central Government.

"(b) Spreading rumours calculated to keep people in constant fear of the Russian action, thus putting a brake on long-term planning by businessmen and landlords and hindering economic development of the province.

"(c) Inciting workers against owners and peasants against landlords.

"(d) Sabotage.

"(e) Working up Kurdistan to a state of ferment, thus harassing Persian military and civil authorities."

E 10122/1/34

No. 58

SOVIET POLICY IN AZERBAIJAN

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 818) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *30th October, 1947.*

Your telegrams Nos. 1110 and 1111 of 29th October: Situation in Azerbaijan.

I agree with your view of the policy which the Persian Government should pursue. His Majesty's Ambassador will take the question up with the Prime Minister on

his return, and in the meanwhile you need not seek any special opportunity to raise it.

2. I note that His Majesty's Consul-General's analysis of possible Soviet action does not refer to the possibility that the Russians might send Barzanis or other irregulars over the frontier. Is it considered that this possibility is no longer to be seriously reckoned with?

E 9965/1/34

No. 59

PERSIAN OIL POLICY

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 819. Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *30th October, 1947.*

Your telegram No. 1095 of 24th October: Majlis resolution on oil.

The resolution has been discussed with His Majesty's Ambassador.

2. Although clause (e), taken in conjunction with clause (c), could be interpreted as meaning that the Persian Government ought to take steps to revise or cancel the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession, it seems more likely that this is not the

intention behind the insertion of clause (e) in the resolution. This seems rather to be simply a tactical move designed to forestall Russian charges that the Persians are pursuing a "one-sided policy."

3. On this assumption formal representations by us to the Persian Government would be undesirable. They could in any case not give us any more security than we already have in the terms of the concession. Moreover, they would at this stage almost certainly be misunderstood and misrepresented. All that seems necessary is to secure from the Persian Prime Minister an assurance that he does not, in fact, contem-

plate any action against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession. Accordingly, His Majesty's Ambassador, on his return, will take the opportunity, in conversation with Qavam, to tell him that this clause had raised a little doubt in London as to the intentions of the Persian Government, but that I assume that the Persian Government have, in fact, no intention of asking for a revision of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession; and he will ask the Prime Minister to authorise him to assure the authorities in London that this assumption is correct.

E 10073/40/34

No. 60

PERSIAN POLITICAL SITUATION

Mr. Bevin to Mr. Creswell (Tehran)

(No. 821. Secret) *Foreign Office,*
(Telegraphic) *31st October, 1947.*

Your telegram No. 1107 [of 28th October: Persian political situation].

I certainly do not wish to be involved in the question of the retention of Qavam as Prime Minister nor to intervene on behalf of possible successors. I therefore agree

that if you are asked by the Shah to express an opinion, you should be strictly non-committal, bearing in mind that any definite view you may express would be liable to misinterpretation. If the Shah were to press you, it should always be possible to counter by asking whom he has in mind as Qavam's successor.

E 10352/1/34

No. 61

PERSO-SOVIET OIL NEGOTIATIONS

Debate and Resolution in the Majlis

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 6th November)

(No. 430) *Tehran,*
Sir, *29th October, 1947*

With reference to my telegram No. 1088, I have the honour to make the following further report on the eventful meeting of the Majlis which took place on the evening of 23rd October.

2. For several days beforehand representative groups of deputies had been busily discussing among themselves what action they should take on the Prime Minister's report on his oil negotiations with the Soviet Government. The great majority of the deputies were agreed that the Qavam-Sadtekhov exchange of notes of April 1946 should be denounced, but there was, at first, considerable difference of opinion as to how this should be done. The Prime Minister's

opponents desired the decision to be taken in such a way as to oblige him to resign; they wished him to identify himself personally with the measure and thus found themselves in agreement over tactics with the Tudeh Party who pointed out, no doubt on Soviet instructions, that the undertaking in the exchange of notes was for a Bill to be submitted to the House with the Government's backing and not merely a report as the Prime Minister intended. In general, the opposition wished for advance notice of the contents of the Prime Minister's report, which he refused to give them, so that they might prepare their tactics for a full scale debate. On the other hand, the Prime Minister wished the matter referred, in the first instance, to a

commission; when the resolution ultimately came to be passed, he and his supporters naturally wished it to be so framed that it would leave his position unimpaired, and they contemplated doing so by means of a statement that, though they rejected the exchange of notes, his action had not been contrary to the so-called Musaddiq Law (the law of 2nd December, 1944) adding further clauses to the effect that the Government should be authorised to negotiate some alternative arrangement (see my telegram No. 1051) providing for the sale of oil products to the Soviet Union. At the same time, nearly all members wished to give an appearance of impartiality to the resolution by the inclusion of some sentences expressing opposition to British interests in Khuzistan and Bahrein. Private discussions on these points caused the postponement for several days of the presentation of the Prime Minister's statement.

3. The statement itself, which took over two hours to read, covered the conversations which the Prime Minister had in Moscow in 1946 with Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov, the evacuation of Allied troops from Persia, the insurrection in Azerbaijan and his negotiations with the Soviet Government concerned with oil. It incidentally revealed the fact that all the communications made to the Persian Government by Pishevari and the Azerbaijan "Democrat" régime had been dictated to them *verbatim*, in instructions from Moscow. The statement emphasised the constant pressure to which Qavam had been subjected by the Soviet Government, and asked the Majlis to decide whether it was their wish that he should sign a final agreement with the Soviet Government for the creation of a mixed Soviet-Persian Company to exploit the petrol of the north of the country. The statement was notable for the fact that it in no way recommended the Majlis to accept the arrangement contained in the exchange of notes; the general effect of it was, on the contrary, to draw attention to the particularly difficult circumstances at the time when they were concluded and to absolve the Prime Minister himself from any blame for having concluded the arrangement. I attach as Annex I to the present despatch a short note on the contents of the Prime Minister's statement. The full text, in French, will follow under cover of my despatch No. 431.

4. So soon as the Prime Minister had left the tribune, Dr. Shafaq, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee (and one of those who went to Moscow with the Prime Minister in February 1946) took his place. He deplored the policy of the Soviet Government towards Persia as revealed in the Prime Minister's statement, reaffirmed Persia's desire nevertheless to establish and maintain the friendliest relations with the U.S.S.R. and moved a resolution, the text of which was transmitted to you in my telegram No. 1095 of 23rd October and is now attached, as Annex II, to the present despatch. He urged that it should be dealt with under the procedure for "double urgency," that is, that it should be voted on at once without reference to a committee.

5. Dr. Shafaq's resolution, though affirming that the Prime Minister had acted in good faith, categorically rejects the exchange of notes with the Soviet Ambassador as incompatible with the Musaddiq Law. At the same time, it prevents any further negotiation with the Soviet Government on the basis of these notes and also reaffirms the illegality of further negotiations with other Powers as regards oil concessions, adding words prohibiting also any negotiations for the formation of an oil company with a foreign holding. This clause will at least give the Soviet Government an assurance that the Majlis will not permit any other great Power to obtain a footing in north Persia by means of an oil concession; or an oil company; and, in a further attempt to manifest the Government's impartiality, the resolution charges the Government to undertake "the necessary negotiations and measures" to "redeem the rights of the nation" in cases where these are considered to have been prejudiced, especially in connexion with S. Persian oil. As reported in my telegrams 1082 and 1088, the earlier drafts of the resolution had contained a specific reference to Bahrein and a far more pointed reference to revision of the A.I.O.C. concession. Several of the Prime Minister's supporters were at pains to blunt this attack on British interests, and they succeeded in obtaining the omission of all reference to Bahrein and of the word "concession" altogether, with the result that the resolution as passed was vague in the extreme. I understand that the part of the concession to which a number of Deputies are chiefly opposed is the prolongation of its validity from 1964-93, which took

place at the time of the revision of the concession in 1933.

6. After this resolution had been proposed, the Prime Minister spoke again. He asked the Deputies to remember the grave importance of the occasion and the need for reflection before they took a decision. He opposed the adoption of the "double urgency" procedure, and expressed the view that it was not in the interests of the country for the Majlis to reject the exchange of notes in such a manner that the way for further negotiations with the Soviet Government would be closed. He thus conveyed to the Majlis, almost *verbatim*, the advice which Sir J. Le Rougetel had given him, on your instructions, on 2nd September last. It can, however, hardly be said that this advice was followed in the terms of the resolution, as ultimately voted, despite the clause authorising the Government to negotiate for the sale of oil products to Russia, in view of the very restrictive nature of the preceding clause forbidding all negotiations for concessions or the establishment of joint oil companies in the future.

7. The debate which followed was short and confused. One or two speakers opposed the "double urgency" clause, Muhammad Ali Masudi urged the adoption of a resolution embodying his scheme (see my telegram No. 29, Saving) for the creation of an all-Persian company to exploit the country's oil, and Abbas Iskandari demanded persistently, but in vain, a chance to speak about the A.I.O.C. and Bahrein. The House was, however, impatient for a decision, and clamorous cries of "a vote," "a vote," soon brought the debate to an end. The resolution proposed by Dr. Shafaq was then passed (as has been established by a confirmation of the count) by 103 votes out of 104.

8. The chamber also voted an amendment adding a provision cancelling the third paragraph of the official communiqué of 4th April, 1946. This communiqué had announced that Soviet military forces would evacuate Persia within a month and a half from 24th March, 1946, and the paragraph in question read as follows:—

"Concerning Azerbaijan, this being a Persian internal question, peaceful arrangements will be sought between the Persian Government and the populace of Azerbaijan to achieve reforms in accordance with existing legislation and in a spirit of understanding of the people's point of view."

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The proposer explained that his purpose in cancelling this paragraph was not to bring about any change in the Government's policy towards Azerbaijan, but to make it clear beyond all doubt that the affairs of this province were the concern of the Persian Parliament and people alone.

9. I think it is true to say that there is widespread satisfaction that the idea of giving Russia an oil concession in some form or other has been positively, and apparently finally, turned down. At the same time, there is naturally still some anxiety lest there should be a sharp reaction from the Soviet Government. Qavam's reputation and prestige have risen again to the high point touched at the beginning of the year when he recovered Azerbaijan. Everyone appreciates the courage with which he has faced Soviet pressure and praises the skill of his handling of the Majlis; and his critics and opponents are for the present discomfited.

10. It is too early to perceive the nature of Soviet reactions. The Soviet Ambassador, however, pointedly absented himself from the Salaam ceremony on the Shah's birthday on 27th October, presumably in order to mark his Government's displeasure. The Tudeh Party's organ (now called *Razm*) describes the whole affair as a triumph for American dollar imperialism, and points to the ultimate exclusion from the resolution of all mention of Bahrein, which it ascribes to pressure by the United States Ambassador, as proof of this contention. It declares that Qavam could easily have had the resolution defeated if he had wished, and argues that, as he did not do so, his protestations, and those of the several other speakers who proclaimed their friendship for Russia but voted for the resolution, are nothing but blatant hypocrisy.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow, Washington and Bagdad, and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

Annex I to No. 61

Note on the Persian Prime Minister's speech in the Majlis on 22nd October, 1947

The Prime Minister spoke at great length, covering the whole field of Soviet-Persian relations since he took office in

February 1946 and he gave the full text of a number of important documents.

2. The speech can be divided conveniently into seven parts: a preamble; a narrative of the events which took place during his visit to Moscow in February-March, 1946; an account of Persia's financial claims against the Soviet Government; a description of the agreements reached, after his return to Tehran, for the evacuation of Soviet troops and the creation of a mixed Perso-Soviet oil company; an explanation of the circumstances which obliged him to send troops to Azerbaijan; a documented summary of the further memoranda exchanged with the Soviet Ambassador about oil, and a peroration.

3. The preamble was a lengthy general apologia for his work in office and contained nothing of special interest, but his story of what happened in Moscow deserves more attention. It is the only detailed first-hand account which we have yet had of what passed between Qavam, Marshal Stalin and M. Molotov.

4. According to the Prime Minister the purpose of the Persian delegation to Moscow was to invite the co-operation of the Soviet Government in settling current problems and to prove that Persia wished to have the best possible relations with her neighbour. In spite of past misunderstandings, the Prime Minister said, the Soviet leaders appeared disposed to listen to the Persian viewpoint, and a series of talks took place between Marshal Stalin, M. Molotov and the delegation. The Prime Minister had emphasised at the first meeting that they had not come to Moscow to argue legal points but in a spirit of sincerity and goodwill to find out on what basis friendly relations between Iran and the Soviet Government could be resumed and northern Iran evacuated by the Soviet forces. He explained at the outset that as far as the oil question was concerned, the Persian law of 2nd December, 1944, forbade his entering into any negotiations.

5. In stating the Soviet point of view Marshal Stalin, according to Qavam, maintained positively that the Soviet Government had, at that time, the right to retain troops in Persia under article 6 of the Perso-Soviet Treaty of 1921 and also that the Soviet Government were fully entitled to demand an oil concession comparable to that granted to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, though they were willing, as a conciliatory gesture, to consider the alternative of a mixed Soviet-

Persian company to exploit the oil in the north of the country. These contentions are set out forcefully in M. Molotov's note of 22nd February, 1946. The Persian delegation were unable to agree, nor could they accept the suggestion of the Soviet Government that an autonomous régime should be set up in Azerbaijan.

6. The Prime Minister went on to say that the delegation was deeply shocked when a Tass communiqué was published in *Izvestia* announcing that all Soviet troops had not left Persia by the date laid down in the treaty between Persia and the Allies, and immediately called on Marshal Stalin and lodged a protest. Shortly after, news came through of the abnormal state of affairs in Azerbaijan, and two notes were handed to the Soviet Foreign Ministry demanding an end to all complications and the establishment of normal relations between the two countries. These notes were followed by more discussions and when the delegation finally left Moscow on 15th March, it was agreed that negotiations would be resumed in Tehran through the Soviet Ambassador.

7. The material given in that part of the speech which was devoted to Persia's financial claims against the Soviet Government revealed nothing important.

8. Turning to developments after his return to Tehran the Prime Minister said that the elections were then due to begin in Iran and the presence of Soviet troops in the country and the anomalous situation in Azerbaijan constituted grave difficulties. To ward off the dangerous situation threatening the country, there was no choice but to make concessions, and through M. Sadchikov, agreement was finally reached on an evacuation date and on Azerbaijan. To achieve this end, the Prime Minister was obliged to agree to the drafting of an agreement providing for the formation of a joint Irano-Soviet oil company, which was to be submitted to the Majlis for approval at a later date. This instrument was drafted in Moscow and was signed by Qavam, with the Shah's knowledge, on 4th April, 1946. It is significant that Qavam made no reference whatever to Persia's appeal to the Security Council nor to the action which the Council took in regard to Persia's difficulties with the U.S.S.R.

9. The description, which followed, of the developments which compelled the Government to change their policy regarding Azerbaijan and to despatch

forces to reoccupy the province, is remarkable for its omission of any reference to the stern warnings which, as the Prime Minister told His Majesty's Ambassador at the time, were given by the Soviet Ambassador, of the grave consequences which would result from the despatch of troops to Tabriz.

10. The next part of the speech, dealing with the memoranda exchanged with the Soviet Ambassador during the general elections and since the assembly of the Persian Parliament, provided a useful documentation to this phase in Perso-Soviet relations. The chief feature of these memoranda is the Soviet insistence that Qavam was bound, by the terms of the notes exchanged on 4th April, 1946, to put before the Majlis for approval a signed treaty (the text of which is now made public for the first time) giving effect to their provisions.

11. Throughout his speech the Prime Minister had referred repeatedly, sometimes in such fulsome terms as to smack of irony, to Persia's sincere desire for friendship with the U.S.S.R. and his peroration was devoted to the same theme. He renewed assurances that the Persian Government would never follow a partial or one-sided policy to the detriment of her good relations with her great northern neighbour, and declared that if only fear of pressure and the influence of undesirable propaganda could be eliminated, mutual confidence could be developed in a calm and friendly atmosphere.

Annex II to No. 61

Translation of the official text of the Resolution passed by the Majlis on 22nd October, 1947

Single Article

(a) Whereas the Prime Minister in good faith, and as a result of an interpretation of the meaning of the second Article of the

Law of 2nd December, 1944, undertook discussions for the drawing up of the agreement dated 4th April, 1946, regarding the creation of a mixed Perso-Soviet Oil Company; and whereas the Persian Majlis do not regard this interpretation as being consistent with the real purport and meaning of the afore-mentioned law, they consider the above discussions and agreement to be without effect and null and void. The third paragraph of the communiqué of 4th April, 1946, is also null and void.

(b) The Government shall make arrangements for a technical and scientific survey with a view to the discovery of oil deposits and shall, within a period of five years, draw and prepare complete technical and scientific maps of the oil-bearing areas of the country so that the Majlis shall be able, with full knowledge and information of the existence of oil in sufficient quantities, to make arrangements for the commercial exploitation of this national wealth by passing the necessary laws.

(c) The grant of any kind of concession to foreigners for the extraction of the oil and its by-products of the country and the creation of any kind of company for this purpose in which foreigners are in any manner shareholders, is absolutely forbidden.

(d) If, after the technical survey mentioned in paragraph (b), it is established that oil exists in commercial quantities in the northern areas of Persia, the Government are authorised to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government for the sale to that Government of the products of this oil and to inform the Majlis of the results.

(e) The Government are charged in all instances where the rights of the people of Persia in the sources of the country's wealth, whether below or above the ground, have been impaired, especially regarding the oil in the south, to undertake the necessary negotiations and measures with a view to redeeming the rights of the nation and they shall inform the Majlis of the results.

PERSIA: QUARTERLY REPORT, JULY-SEPTEMBER 1947

Mr. Creswell to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th November)

(No. 435)

Tehran,

Sir,

31st October, 1947.

With reference to my despatch No. 241 of 8th July, 1947, I have the honour to submit to you herewith a report on outstanding events in Persia during the third quarter of 1947.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Moscow and Bagdad; Air Headquarters, Iraq, British Middle East Office, Cairo, Political Intelligence Centre, Middle East, Cairo, United Kingdom High Commissioner, New Delhi, United Kingdom High Commissioner, Karachi, and to all consuls in Persia.

I have, &c.

M. J. CRESWELL.

Enclosure in No. 62

Report for the Quarter ended
30th September, 1947

Internal Situation

The chief subjects of political interest during the quarter were the conclusion of the elections, the formation of the 15th Majlis and the appointment of a new Government; the gathering interest and increasing political tension as the time for a decision by Government and Majlis about the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement approached; the slight increase in Tudeh Party activity; and the question of the disarmament of the tribes, especially those of Fars.

The Majlis

2. The election of all but a few Deputies for outlying constituencies having been completed at the beginning of July, the 15th Majlis was opened by the Shah on 17th July. Some ninety Deputies had already signed an undertaking to support the Prime Minister in Parliament, but at the first meeting a considerable Right-wing opposition became apparent, contesting the election of the Prime Minister's candidate for the office of President of the Chamber, M. Reza Hikmat, and supporting the candidature of M. Taqizadeh, formerly Persian Ambassador in London. In an endeavour to discredit the newly elected

Assembly as a whole, a small Left-wing and independent opposition also raised objections, but with little success, to the mandates of some twenty Deputies. M. Reza Hikmat was, however, elected President on 17th August by 71 votes to 43, and the elections of his assistant officers of the House showed a Democrat Party majority of some 55 against 44. The election of the President and officers thus served to demonstrate the size of the Democrat Party majority in the Chamber, and Qavam-es-Saltaneh was selected as Prime Minister by a vote of 78 out of 116.

3. On 11th September, Qavam-es-Saltaneh presented to the Shah his new Cabinet (which was substantially the same as the old), and on 14th September he put his Government's ten-point programme to the Majlis. This programme amounted to little more than the declared intention to continue the foreign and economic policies pursued by the previous Government, and it mentioned in particular labour and social legislation, the Seven-Year Plan of economic development, and the organisation of provincial councils. It made no mention of the oil issue. (On 5th October this programme was approved by 93 votes to 12, with an explicit reservation that the vote of confidence did not cover the Prime Minister's proceedings since the dissolution of the 14th Majlis.)

The Proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement

4. The process of the formation of the 15th Majlis was closely followed by the Soviet Government and, soon after it had been constituted, they reopened the question of the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement. On 12th August, immediately after his return from several months' absence in Russia, the Soviet Ambassador presented to the Prime Minister, for immediate signature and subsequent ratification by the Majlis, the text of an agreement for the formation of a joint Soviet-Persian oil company on the lines of the exchange of letters between him and the Persian Prime Minister, which immediately followed the latter's visit to Moscow in April 1946.

5. In spite of Persian stories of table-thumping, the official Soviet line seems to

have been correct. It took the form of interviews between the Soviet Ambassador and the Prime Minister, two notes delivered to the Persian Government on 12th and 28th August and, finally, of a long recapitulatory letter sent to the Persian press by the Press Section of the Soviet Embassy on 20th September. Only Persian accounts of the interview are available; the notes were strong but not exceptionally so, while the Press Section's letter was studiously moderate in tone.

6. On the propaganda side the Soviet campaign opened on 24th August with an article in *Pravda* stigmatising the reactionaries, their foreign supporters and, finally, the Shah and the Prime Minister. This had a most hostile reception in the Persian press. The article was repeated by Moscow Radio, which then proceeded to indulge in spasmodic attacks which succeeded in infuriating and, to some extent, frightening the Persian press and people. At the same time, rumours, possibly though by no means certainly of Soviet origin, regarding Soviet troop concentrations near the Persian frontier, movements of Soviet warships in the Caspian Sea, &c., contributed to the war of nerves. It was noticeable that the organ of the Tudeh Party, *Mardom*, almost entirely refrained from editorial comment but began a lengthy critical commentary on the statements made by other newspapers.

7. Early in September various conjectures began to appear in the Persian press about the attitude of His Majesty's Government and the United States Government on this question. On 10th September the leading newspaper, *Ettela'at*, produced an article hinting at collusion between Russia and Britain. The next day a further article appeared in the same paper reporting the conciliatory advice given by the British Ambassador to the Prime Minister and deducing from this that Britain was conducting secret negotiations with Russia with a view to an agreement on the 1907 model. It soon transpired that these articles were based on reports by the Associated Press Agency correspondent in Tehran, who had obtained confidential information from the American Embassy and conveyed it to his agency in an embroidered form. The Prime Minister thereupon issued an official denial of the statement about the advice given by His Majesty's Ambassador; and added that any reports of an Anglo-Russian agreement like that of 1907 were devoid of all foundation.

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8. On 11th September the United States Ambassador, in the course of an address delivered to the local American Cultural Society, emphasised the concern of the United States Government at any attempt to use pressure or threats to extract economic concessions and added that American opinion supported Persia in standing up to such pressure. This statement was designed to steady opinion and to counter the tendency, suggested by the references in the press to British policy, that the Majlis would be well advised to give up the struggle and capitulate to the Soviet Government over the oil question, since His Majesty's Government were no longer behind them.

9. The Prime Minister's own intentions in respect of the oil issue remained at the end of the quarter unknown and unpredictable. A statement was, however, made by the Director-General of Propaganda on 22nd September that the Prime Minister would present to the Majlis a "report" on the question, and would leave it to the Chamber to take whatever decision they thought fit. Feeling in the Majlis and in the country as a whole was strongly against the acceptance of the proposed agreement.

Tudeh Party Activities

10. There was evidence from a variety of sources of a slight increase in the activities of the Tudeh Party. Khuzistan was, as always, the most fertile field for anti-British propaganda, and there was during the quarter a noticeable infiltration of former Tudeh leaders into the area of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company concession. The wide publicity given to the proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement enabled Tudeh propaganda to draw an unfavourable comparison between British imperialism in the heat and dust of Khuzistan and Russian co-operation in the healthy conditions of north Persia. The decline of Iftikhari's Oil Workers' Union has left a gap which, if it is filled at all, seems likely to be filled by the Tudeh Party and Tudeh propaganda continues to attack the Oil Workers' Union with violence. Although attendance of Anglo-Iranian Oil Company employees at Tudeh meetings dropped during the summer, this was apparently no more than a seasonal decline, and there was no falling-off in clandestine activities such as the distribution of secretly printed pamphlets, including a long article which appeared on the anniversary of the Tudeh riots of July 1946.

11. The attitude of the Prime Minister and his Government to these activities is by no means certain. Dr. Bakhtiar, the representative of the Ministry of Labour who was sent to Abadan to organise factory councils, is known to be in contact with more lenient view of the Tudeh Party than would appear from the policy of his more lenient view of the Tudeh Party than would appear from the policy of his Government.

Disarmament of the Tribes

12. About the middle of August, General Mu'ini, G.O.C. Fars, announced that tribal disarmament in that part of Persia would begin immediately, referring at the same time to the amnesty proclaimed by the Shah for last autumn's revolt. In early September he summoned the tribes of Fars to hand in all their arms by 22nd November. A fortnight later, according to the Governor-General, the Qashqai Khans, including Nasr Khan himself, assembled in conference with him and the G.O.C. and concluded a general agreement to comply with the order to disarm, in return for a promise that the Governor-General would appoint only Nasr's nominees to Government posts in Qashqai territory. Nasr Khan left for Tehran on the following day, ostensibly in order to lay his case against the Government before the Shah before proceeding on a two-years' holiday in Europe. By the end of the quarter no further developments had been made known.

13. The following figures represent the approximate situation as regards the disarmament of tribes generally which is believed to have obtained at the end of the quarter:—

- (a) Number of rifles, pistols and machine guns collected from Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, 60,000, out of which 60 per cent. were Persian army weapons lost at the time of the surrender of the garrisons in those areas.
- (b) Numbers of rifles collected from other tribal areas in Persia, 11,000.
- (c) Numbers estimated to be still in tribal hands, 120,000, out of which 85 per cent. were in Fars and Khuzistan (among the Bakhtiari, Qashqai, Kuhigilu, Mammasani and Boir Ahmedi).
- (d) Numbers reissued on licence for protection of crops and flocks, for purposes of sport or to approved tribal leaders for local protection, 12,000.

Economic Development

14. The report of the Morrison-Knudsen International Company Incorporated, which was invited by the Persian Government to draw up a programme of economic development, has now been received by the Ministry of Finance. The mission's terms of reference were to draw up a programme costing \$500 million, from which the Persian Government would select schemes to the value of \$250 million. The \$500 million programme recommended by the United States group is distributed as follows:—

	Million dollars	Per cent.
Agriculture ...	136.8	27.2
Public Health ...	48.3	9.6
Communications ...	93.6	18.6
Services ...	9.2	1.8
Power ...	68.9	13.7
Natural Gas ...	70.8	14.0
Industry ...	34.7	6.9
Mines ...	6.1	1.2
Technical Education ...	35.0	6.9
Total ...	503.4	100.0

The Morrison-Knudsen report, whilst paying a high tribute to the degree of skill with which the Lar report had been drawn up by Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, recommended that its execution should be deferred on the ground of costs and that a smaller one should be put in hand. Similarly, the report advised against the establishment of an iron and steel industry. One of the most interesting features of the report is a strong recommendation that the natural gas produced in the oilfields in the south should be piped and carried to Tehran.

15. M. Ebtehaj, the governor of the Bank Melli Iran, attended the meeting in London of the International Bank during the month of September. He did not make any application for a devaluation of the rial, although it is known that he would favour such a course. The first reactions of the International Monetary Fund for a loan to Persia of \$250 million to implement the Seven-Year Development Plan were unfavourable, and although no definite decision was taken, it is highly improbable that a substantial loan will be forthcoming.

Labour Conditions and Trade Union Affairs

16. The revised draft of the Labour Law was prepared and submitted to the High

Labour Council for examination. New regulations dealing with workmen's compensation for industrial injury were issued and also a decree making general educational and technical classes compulsory. Wage levels in general remained low and were unrelated to the cost of living. Some Government circles appeared to be convinced that the most effective way of raising the standard of living of the workers would be the formation of co-operative societies. The International Labour Office agreed to a request for expert advisory help in the preparation of schemes and, in the meantime, the Persian Ministry of Labour persuaded some employers to provide capital to establish factory shops.

17. Fear of a revival of Tudeh influence led the Government-sponsored E.S.K.I. Unions and the Independent Union group, headed by Ashtiani, to open discussions with a view to co-ordinating efforts and avoiding friction and competition. A working agreement was signed on 30th August and a general congress was called for the beginning of November, at which workers will be asked to elect representatives to the Executive Council of the new Confederation. The Oil Workers' Union, formed in Abadan earlier in the year by Yusef Iftikhari, declined in importance and lost the majority of its members.

18. In July the Caspian Fisheries (under Russian management) were attacked by the High Labour Council and in the Tehran press for failure to comply with labour legislation. In September a commission, appointed by the High Labour Council, visited the fisheries, established that breaches of the Labour Law had undoubtedly taken place and extracted an assurance that there would be full compliance in future.

19. As originally announced, Qavam's new Government contained no Minister for Labour, but the Prime Minister eventually agreed, after representations had been made both by the United States Ambassador and His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, to submit a draft decree establishing an independent Ministry of Labour to the Majlis.

Foreign Relations

20. The most prominent quarter affecting relations with the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States has been dealt with above under "The proposed Soviet-Persian Oil Agreement." The

following developments, however, are also worth noting.

United Kingdom

21. Further discussions took place in London between the Treasury and the Commercial Counsellor, in regard to the settlement of the claim of the Persian Government against His Majesty's Government for the use of Persian railways during the war. No definite decision was reached, but examination was given to the possibility of negotiating a settlement on the basis of the 1942 draft agreement.

22. M. Ebtehaj, Governor of the Bank Melli, negotiated a new agreement with the Treasury, relative to the transfer of sterling from Iranian accounts to American accounts. This agreement, *ad referendum* on the Persian side, was signed on 30th September. In effect, it provides for the restoration of convertibility with the proviso that the Persian Government will not ask us for dollars except in respect of goods which they consider essential to the economy of Persia and which cannot be obtained on equivalent terms in the sterling area or elsewhere against sterling.

United States

23. A delegation from the Congress Standing Committee on the Armed Services, accompanied by four serving officers and a representative of the State Department, visited Tehran in the last week of September. The spokesman of the delegation defined its object as being to investigate the situation in Europe, Africa and the Middle East from military, economic, political and social viewpoints and to report to Congress and to the United States Government. The visit, which was given great publicity, attracted considerable attention and was strongly attacked in Russian propaganda and in the Tudeh newspapers. The fact that the delegation was stated to be concerning itself with the United States Military and Gendarmerie Missions caused some resentment, since these missions are in the service of the Persian Government.

India and Pakistan

24. On the transfer of power in India, the Persian Government exchanged friendly greetings with the Governments of India and Pakistan and agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations. Sayid Ali Zahir's name was submitted to the Shah as Ambassador for India and the

Persian Government were asked to agree to the appointment of Mr. Mohammed Hassan, formerly Indian Government Trade Commissioner in Tehran, as Pakistan Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*. His Majesty's Embassy also informed the Persian Government of the closing of His Majesty's Consular offices at Kerman, Bandar Abbas, Birjand and Zabul, the maintenance of which had been mainly concerned with the protection of Indian interests.

Afghanistan

25. Relations between the Persian and Afghan Governments threatened to become strained as a result of the drying up of the Helmand River at Seistan, which the Persians alleged was due to the Afghans diverting the waters. The Afghan Ambassador in Tehran made a statement to the press on 6th September, in which he said that discussions between the two Govern-

ments were in progress at Kabul, deplored misleading and sensational reports, and added that the shortage of water was due solely to the drought and not to any action on the Afghan side of the frontier. In a statement in the Majlis on 25th September the Persian Minister for Agriculture again maintained that the Afghans were responsible. He stated that the Persian Government had asked the Afghan Government to allow a Persian delegation into Afghanistan to study the question, but that, as the Afghan Government had countered with a request that Afghan experts should visit Seistan, to which the Persian Government could not agree, the conversations had broken down. There was thought to be some danger that the inhabitants of Seistan would take the law into their own hands and cross into Afghanistan. The Persian Minister for Agriculture stated on 13th September that he was considering referring the matter to the United Nations.

E 10598/1/34

No. 63

SOVIET POLICY IN AZERBAIJAN

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 12th November)

(No. 1174) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) 11th November, 1947.
Your telegram No. 818.

After my tour of Azerbaijan and shortly before I went on leave I spoke at some length both to the Shah and to the Prime Minister's representative, Nikpay, about the importance of pursuing a constructive policy in that province. Mr. Creswell also spoke to His Majesty in the same sense on 1st November (see his telegram No. 1132). I will seek an early opportunity of reverting to the subject, but I do not think that any

useful purpose would be served by doing so immediately on my return from leave, more especially as the oil agreement has monopolised everyone's attention until a week or two ago.

2. If the Russians intend to react adversely to the Majlis decision, they may well do so gradually and after some delay. This would apply, *inter alia*, to the infiltration of Barzanis and other irregulars, but at present there is no tangible evidence of any such intention.

E 10781/1/34

No. 64

RELATIONS BETWEEN PERSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Persian Attitude over the Oil Question

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 18th November)

(No. 449) *Tehran, 11th November, 1947*
Sir,

With reference to Tehran despatch No. 430 of 29th October, I have the honour

to inform you that the Persian Director-General of Publications and Propaganda has been at considerable pains recently to issue rejoinders to current Soviet propa-

ganda about Persia's attitude over the North Persia oil question, and at the same time to assert that Persia wishes for an independent position and good and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

2. At a press conference for foreign correspondents on 3rd November, Mr. Khajeh Nuri dealt with a number of points made on the Moscow wireless by the Soviet commentators Ignatiev and Belinkov. He replied to the allegation that the Majlis resolution had been contrary to Persia's interests by saying that the Persian people were themselves the best judges of what was and what was not in Persia's interests. He denounced as meaningless the statement to the effect that Persian progressive circles were filled with concern that their rulers had tied them to the *bloc* of American imperialism. He knew of no such circles expressing concern; he could only think that they were a figment of the imagination of Soviet propagandists. Nor did he understand the words "American Imperialist *bloc*." Finally, he countered the allegation that the Majlis resolution was a breach of obligations entered into by the Persian Government by saying that in democratic countries no promise can be considered binding without parliamentary approval and that this was the case in respect of the draft Soviet-Persian agreement.

3. This official Persian propaganda line has been to some extent reflected in the press. For instance, the papers *Ettela'at* and *Journal de Tehran*, which are both under the same management and frequently follow the Government line, have published articles scouting the notion that the Soviet Union has suffered a slap in the face and

emphasising the importance of maintaining friendly Perso-Soviet relations. In an article entitled "A Compromise," the *Journal de Tehran* of 2nd November pointed out that there was a regrettable tendency to regard Parliament's decision on the oil question as a diplomatic defeat for Russia and a triumph for the Americans. Authoritative quarters in Iran, the paper said, did not share this view, and insisted that the Chamber's decision was a compromise which, while constituting a check for the Soviet Union, settled satisfactorily one of the chief pre-occupations of the northern neighbour, at the expense of Iran's economic interests, by ensuring that no other Power could ever exert a direct influence in the northern frontier regions. While the Tudeh and Left-wing papers have naturally criticised the rejection of the oil agreement and *Iran-e-ma* has gone so far as to claim that it is the Americans rather than the Russians who are the losers, the extreme Right-wing paper *Piruzi*, believed to be subsidised both by the court and the army, has continued to fulminate against the Russians and the Prime Minister with almost equal vigour.

4. The rest of the press refrained from following the Government propaganda line until the anniversary of the Russian revolution when most of them published eulogistic articles, thereby declaring that they realised the danger of antagonising the Russians.

I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow and Washington and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

F 11126/1/34

No. 65

SOVIET POLICY IN AZERBAIJAN

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 25th November)

(No. 1221. Secret) *Tehran,*
(Telegraphic) 24th November, 1947.

Addressed to Foreign Office, telegram No. 1221 of 24th November; repeated to Moscow and Washington.

M. Nikpay has just shown me a personal report from Commander-in-Chief, Azerbaijan, to the Prime Minister. It is to the

effect that there will shortly be a general penetration of North Persia by elements despatched from the Soviet Union as follows:—

- (a) A large body of Barzanis to cross the frontier between Julfa and Maku and with other Kurdish tribes to occupy Rezaieh and Mahabad.

- (b) Pishvari and Ghulem Yahyah, with a following of Muhajirs and Armenians of Persian origin, to pass through [groups undecipherable] and Ardebil, in the direction of [group undecipherable: ? Mianeh].
- (c) A large number of other Muhajirs to enter Mazandaran, Gorgan and Khorassan under the personal direction of Muzaffar Firouz and eventually to move on Tehran. Vehicles of Irano-Sovtrains will be used to distribute small arms and ammunition in the provinces concerned, which as soon as garrisons have been [group

undecipherable] overpowered will be cut off from all communication with the rest of the country.

2. This report is said to be based on information from a [group undecipherable: ? good] source and in view of menacing tone of latest Soviet note the Prime Minister feels that it must be taken seriously. He is, in fact, convinced that Russians have decided to retaliate either in this or in some other form.

3. Persian reply to Soviet Government was despatched last night.

E 11617/1/34

No. 66

SITUATION IN AZERBAIJAN

Proclamation by the Shah of Persia

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 9th December)

(No. 480. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *2nd December, 1947*

I have the honour to inform you that an Imperial Firman was broadcast on 25th November and published in the press on the next day regarding the situation in Azerbaijan. The following is a translation:—

"We, by the Grace of God, Muhammad Reza Pahlevi, Shah-in-Shah of Iran, seeing that in the month of Azar 1324 (December 1945) in the provinces of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan and in the district of Zanzan events took place as a result of which certain persons of the sedentary and tribal populations of those parts were driven to actions not in keeping with their patriotism and national fervour, and seeing that having been proceeded against they now fear that they may become the object of Our inclemency, and since the patriotic sentiments of the people of these parts have always attracted Our special attention, and Our Royal concern has had no other aim than to ensure the welfare and security of the people of this country and has always been directed towards the increase of justice and the inculcation of obedience to the Laws of the country, We have therefore decided that His Highness the Prime Minister should communicate the expression of Our Royal mercy both to the sedentary and to the tribal populations and should assure them that, so long as they do not in future commit any acts contrary to

the Law and inconsistent with public security and tranquillity, they shall enjoy Our Royal benevolence and concern and shall be protected from any kind of molestation."

2. After the Shah's tour of Azerbaijan last June a partial amnesty was decreed for persons who had taken part in the "Democrat" movement and were actually serving sentences of imprisonment. These sentences were in every case to be mitigated by one degree, that is to say, the nature or the period of imprisonment was reduced. It is evident that the present proclamation is not an amnesty, although it has generally been miscalled so by the press. It can hardly, for example, apply to those now in prison in Azerbaijan, to the dangerous elements who have been removed by the General Staff's "screening" operation or to the leaders of a so-called "Azerbaijan Vengeance Party," whose arrest with incriminating Russian documents on them was reported from Tabriz last week. Still less can it apply to Pishvari and his associates, who fled to the Soviet Union and whom retribution undoubtedly awaits should they ever return to Persia. The Chief of the General Staff said as much to the military attaché when he explained that the proclamation applied only to the smaller fry who were "led astray" and forced to collaborate with the "Democrat" movement, often in quite unimportant positions,

and it is presumably the Shah's intention to bring these people back into the fold out of the way of potential trouble-makers and to set a term to the intimidation and exploitation of the local population by the police and other authorities.

3. A suggestion made in the press, which may well be true, is that the proclamation was made with an eye to foreign public opinion in order to give the impression that all is now quiet in Azerbaijan and so to kill

the rumours to the contrary which are circulating in Persia and elsewhere. I doubt, however, whether so vague a pronouncement will have any considerable influence either within or outside Azerbaijan.

4. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's Ambassadors at Moscow, Washington, and to the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL

E 12000/40/34

No. 67

POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERSIA

Resignation of Cabinet Ministers

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 18th December)

(No. 479. Confidential) *Tehran,*
Sir, *8th December, 1947*

With reference to my telegram No. 1256 of 5th December, I have the honour to submit the following brief account of the events which formed the prelude to the resignation, on 4th December, of all the Persian Cabinet Ministers at that time present in Tehran (the Minister of Education is at Tabriz and one of the Ministers without Portfolio is in America) excepting the Prime Minister and a recently appointed and unimportant Minister without Portfolio, Jalal al Din Tehrani, who is in reality little more than the Prime Minister's personal assistant.

2. Towards the end of November the strength which the Opposition had acquired and the vigour with which they were determined to act, were demonstrated by the attacks which they made on the budget for the year 1947-48. In particular they raised an outcry against what they alleged to be the extravagance of the Government, and demanded the drastic reduction of the estimates for expenditure. The Finance Minister had to face strong criticism in the Finance Committee and it was with difficulty that he arranged a temporary compromise and obtained from the Majlis a vote authorising the Government to continue expenditure up to 23rd December on the current basis.

3. No sooner had this corner been turned than the Opposition, consisting mainly of some twenty-five Deputies belonging to a group called the National Unity Party, with, I am reliably informed, strong

encouragement from the Court, pushed forward to a successful conclusion their efforts to detach from Qavam us Saltaneh's party a faction of about thirty Deputies under the leadership of the president of the Majlis.

4. The Prime Minister's riposte was the broadcast of 1st December reported in my despatch No. 483 of 2nd December, followed by a speech delivered to his remaining adherents in the Majlis whom he invited to meet him two days later at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. This speech was, in the main, an echo of his broadcast with the added emphasis on his desire for good relations with the Soviet Government. It also included the further references to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and Bahrein reported in my telegram No. 1254 of 4th December. His purpose was evidently to awaken among his hearers a sense of gratitude for his services to the country and to impress on the Majlis the need for unity and cohesion at the present time of national crisis.

5. In spite of Qavam's eloquence, neither the Court nor his critics in Parliament were moved by these appeals. Sardar Fakhir (the President of the Chamber) and his thirty followers declared their intention to work with the Opposition against him in the Chamber and the Shah, seeing a chance to deliver the *coup de grâce*, let it be known that he considered that Qavam's broadcast had contained insulting references to himself which, on top of the release of Rusta through the intervention of the Prime Minister made

it intolerable that the Cabinet should any longer remain in office. On these grounds His Majesty intimated to the Prime Minister's colleagues that he wished them to resign and they all felt that they had no alternative but to obey.

6. Several responsible people have been asked precisely what words in the Prime Minister's broadcast are regarded as offensive to the Shah, but of the various phrases which they have indicated few, if any, seem to me to be susceptible of such an interpretation. The Prime Minister's references to reactionary attempts to exploit the situation in liberated Azerbaijan were I suspect directed primarily against the army and the General Staff. But the Shah who identifies the army with himself is so intensely suspicious of all that Qavam does or says that he may easily have read into the broadcast insinuations which were not, in fact, intended.

7. Meanwhile, Muzaffer Firuz had managed to make himself heard from abroad through the medium of a special edition of his old (but for long silent) newspaper *Thunder*. His effusion was devoted almost entirely to the refutation of charges made against him since his appointment to the Persian Embassy at Moscow, and to counter-abuse of his enemies in the good old-fashioned manner of the pot calling the kettle black. In spite of the irrelevancies of this so-called "proclamation to the Persian people," it exerted a generally baneful influence on the situation and by giving the Shah further cause for offence, strengthened his resolve to have done with Qavam.

8. Qavam us Saltaneh has so far resisted the pressure that has been brought to bear on him to resign. He has declared that he assumed office because he was chosen by the Majlis, and will only resign when the Majlis, by a properly-given vote, shows that it no longer has confidence in him. The Opposition, however, will not propose a vote of confidence because thereby they would give the Prime Minister a period of grace of one month in which to prepare his defence. They have been trying alternatively to force him to resign by presenting to the Shah, through the president of the Majlis, a petition for the Prime Minister's removal signed by a majority of the Deputies. So far, however, they have failed because the Prime Minister's supporters, who still number about forty, have thwarted them by refusing to attend meetings and have thus prevented a quorum

from being formed. The Shah, though he is eager that Qavam should go, does not wish to dismiss him without a request being made by the Majlis, presumably because in so doing he would expose himself to the criticism of having acted unconstitutionally.

9. An outstanding feature of the polemics which have accompanied recent political events is the extreme emphasis given to foreign affairs. The attitude of the Government and of their critics towards Great Britain, America or the U.S.S.R. has more frequently been made the subject of newspaper articles or speeches in the Majlis than any internal economic or social questions and to call the other side "foreign hirelings" has been the most popular term of abuse. In harmony with the broadcasts from the Moscow and Baku radio stations, the Leftist press have persistently accused Qavam of being the tool of dollar imperialism and at the same time they have implied that his critics on the Right, among whom there are a number of men who have a record of friendliness towards Great Britain, are inspired by the British Government because of their jealousy of American penetration into an old-established British sphere of influence. The extreme Right-wing elements, of course, denounce the adherents of the Left as the hired instruments of Moscow but they are careful to avoid giving any credit to Qavam for the defeat last year of the Azerbaijan separatist movement or for the out-maneuvring of the Soviet Government over the northern oil agreement. The first, it is asserted, was the work of the Shah and the second that of the Majlis; in each case the country was saved by others from the consequences of Qavam's folly.

10. The defence which Qavam himself seems to be trying to develop is that he alone is free from all foreign influence. His organs accordingly attribute the recently-developed Soviet attacks, to his zealous defence of Persian rights and integrity in the north, and the bitter hostility of the Right-wing opposition in the Majlis to British reaction to his determination to recover Persian rights both in the southern oilfields and in Bahrein. Amidst this fog of distortion and misrepresentation the desperate need of the country for sound constructive administration is almost completely obscured and the condition of its unhappy

people becomes steadily more and more depressed.

11. It would, I feel sure, be a mistake at this stage to read too much into Qavam's attempt to impose himself as the champion of Persian irredenta in the south. He has, in fact, done little more than to yield, no doubt deliberately, to the pressure of those of his supporters who are always prepared to agitate against British imperialism if they feel that it will serve their own material interest. The Prime Minister's party is,

of course, far from having a monopoly of such elements and it is, therefore, quite possible that, if he is now driven from office, the slogans which he has just put into circulation will be exploited by his political opponents.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to His Majesty's representatives at Washington, Moscow and Bagdad and to the British Middle East Office, Cairo.

I have, &c.

J. H. LE ROUGETEL.

E 11999/1/34

No. 68

PERSO-SOVIET OIL AGREEMENT

Sir J. Le Rougetel to Mr. Bevin. (Received 18th December)

(No. 484)

His Majesty's Ambassador at Tehran presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit to him, with reference to Tehran telegram No. 1265 of 7th December, an extract from the *Journal de Tehran* of 7th December, giving the text of a note addressed to the Persian Government by the Soviet Embassy.

Tehran,

10th December, 1947.

Enclosure in No. 68

Extract from Journal de Tehran, 7th December, 1947

La nouvelle Note soviétique

Le 1^{er} décembre, Son Excellence M. Sadtchikov, ambassadeur de l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques en Iran, adressa, sur instruction du Gouvernement soviétique, la note suivante à M. Ghavam, Président du Conseil d'Iran :

" M. le Premier Ministre,

" En réponse à votre lettre du 23 novembre courant, je crois nécessaire, sur instruction du Gouvernement soviétique, de porter à votre connaissance les considérations suivantes :

" La note du Gouvernement soviétique du 20 novembre courant met en évidence la violation par le Gouvernement de l'Iran de l'accord du 4 avril 1946, sur la constitution d'une société mixte pétrolière irano-soviétique. La réponse du Gouvernement iranien dans votre lettre du 23 novembre, non seulement ne réfute pas les arguments de la note du Gouvernement soviétique, mais les confirme entièrement. Quant au fond, elle constitue un vain effort pour légitimer l'infidélité aux engagements assumés par le Gouvernement iranien.

" Il ressort d'après ce qui vient d'être dit que le Gouvernement soviétique réaffirme complètement la teneur de la note du 20 novembre courant.

" Veuillez agréer, &c.

I. SADTCHIKOV."

CHAPTER II.—WEEKLY INTELLIGENCE SUMMARIES

E 17/17/34

No. 69

MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 50, PERSIA

Period 16th-22nd December, 1946

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 515 of 24th December; Received 1st January)

Persian Affairs

Political

Preparations for the forthcoming elections have been intensified and, in a broadcast from Tehran radio on 18th December, the Persian Prime Minister, after declaring that Government would not interfere in the elections in any way except to ensure that order was maintained, stated that the electoral committees would be formed throughout the country on 22nd December. Thereafter, the necessary preliminaries would be speedily completed so that polling and the return of candidates could be speedily carried out without delay. The elections in Azerbaijan may be postponed till the situation returns to normal and the civil officials can take up their posts and replace the military governorship temporarily established.

2. The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party have published a broadsheet containing a manifesto on recent events. It is to the effect that, the Azerbaijan question having been settled, the situation is being exploited by the enemies of freedom to mislead the people and to deprive them of their liberty. If free elections were held the Tudeh Party would win all the seats and that is why an attempt is being made to destroy the party by executions and arrests and by martial law in industrial areas. Government pressure is depriving the Tudeh Party of its electoral rights. Freedom of association is denied and the Tudeh Party cannot therefore take part in the elections. Supported officially by the Government another party will obtain an overwhelming majority. Though Qawam-us-Saltaneh will naturally use his prestige and his present popularity to secure the election of members of his own party, the Tudeh contention, as stated above, is not based on fact. Their rapacity and dishonesty while in office and the gangster methods which they employed to intimidate their political opponents have left such a nasty taste in the mouths of Persians that

it is very doubtful if they would secure a single seat in the next elections even if the Prime Minister's party was not in existence.

3. The Shah has addressed to the Prime Minister a letter of appreciation for his recent services in the settlement of the Azerbaijan question.

Internal Security

Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and Gilan.

4. The reoccupation of the garrison towns and frontier posts is almost completed and the situation is rapidly returning to normal. Military governorship has been established as a temporary measure throughout the area. From an operational point of view the whole area is divided into three zones, viz., the south, under General Humayuni, the General Officer Commanding, Kurdistan, with his headquarters at Miandoab; the centre and west and north, under Brigadier-General Hashemi, with his headquarters at Tabriz; and the eastern portion, under Colonel Muqbolli, with his headquarters at Astara. At this latter place the Persian army has been obliged to maintain two battalions to keep an eye on the 1,200 Democrat rebels who, after putting up a fierce resistance, burnt the town and retreated into Soviet territory by crossing the rivulet on the frontier a hundred yards away.

5. A Persian army cavalry brigade is now carrying out a flag march round Lake Urumiyeh.

6. According to the Chief of the General Staff the entire stock of the Democrat rebels' arms has not yet been counted, but in Tabriz alone the haul amounted to 8,000 rifles (Persian army pattern), 3 million rounds S.A.A., 400 light machine guns of German make (yet to be confirmed), 200 light and 50 heavy machine guns of Persian army pattern. (These last two items were from those lost by the Persian garrisons when they surrendered last year.)

7. Mulla Mustafa Barzani and some of the Iraqi army deserter officers are still in

Mahabad, but his followers (of whose numbers estimates range from 1,000 to 2,000), with three field-guns, are at Naqadeh, some 40 miles north-west. Mulla Mustafa, according to a report received by the Chief of the General Staff from General Humayuni, has asked that officer to procure for him either a pardon from the Iraqi Government or, failing that, permission to reside in Persia at any place ordained by the Persian Government. This is now under consideration by the Persian Government. To attempt to arrest him and to disarm his followers now might, according to the Chief of the General Staff, precipitate a conflict in an area which will be difficult enough to pacify with the forces at his disposal. The collapse of the Kurdish Independence Movement, the cessation of support by the Russians, and the coming of winter will do far more to weaken Mulla Mustafa's position and to render his large band of followers too severe a drain on the hospitality of the local Kurds.

8. Some 300 former Democrats are under arrest and awaiting trial in Tabriz. Russian inspired reports (see paragraph 17 below) of the large massacres of the Democrats before the arrival of the troops were grossly exaggerated and their allegations of wholesale slaughter by the troops after their arrival were unfounded.

Fars

9. The Persian Government's recent successes in Azerbaijan have produced a reaction in Shiraz where the Qashgai are now considering the advisability of continuing with their Fars National Movement. The Prime Minister has suggested that it be merged in his Persian Democrat Party. Most of the other tribal leaders are said to be suspicious of Qashgai motives and to consider that they have been left high and dry by the Qashgai's recent negotiations with the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister, for his part, seems to feel strong enough to object to some of the Qashgai nominees for the next elections. If, as the Shah recently stated to the British Military Attaché, he had told Muhammad Husein Qashgai that the disarming of the tribes of the south would be the Persian Government's next task, the Qashgai may well be feeling nervous about the future.

Mazanderan

10. A military court has gone to Mazanderan to try those arrested in con-

nexion with the disorders reported in paragraph 4 of last Intelligence Summary. According to some rather highly coloured press accounts, the authorities have discovered an extensive plot to blow up road and rail bridges in the Shahi area.

Kermanshah

11. His Majesty's Consul at Kermanshah reports an act of rowdiness on 15th December when some members of the Iran Democrat Party broke up the premises of the Tudeh Club.

Persian Army

12. Two courts-martial, one in Tabriz and one in Miandoab, are sitting to try Persian deserter officers who have surrendered. The charge, originally one of desertion, has been altered to one of bearing arms against the State.

13. On 21st December a memorial service in the Sipah Salar Mosque, attended by the Shah, was held to commemorate those who were killed during the past year in Azerbaijan.

14. On 22nd December a victory parade was held in the main square of Tehran to celebrate the reoccupation of Azerbaijan. Many laudatory articles concerning the Persian army have also appeared in the Persian press. Lest it should be thought that a great fuss is being made of nothing or that the Persian army is blowing its tin trumpet too loud, it must be remembered that a good deal was needed to raise its morale above the dangerously low pitch to which it had sunk. Its sudden collapse and the shameful flight of its officers (not of its rank and file) during the "events of Shahrivar of 1941," its disastrous defeat at the hands of the tribesmen at Somirum in 1943, the mutinies of 1945 and its ignominious rebuff by the Russian forces near Qazvin in the same year, all reacted adversely on its spirit and these recent efforts to celebrate its success after so many resounding defeats appear justified.

The Court

15. Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf, representing His Imperial Majesty the Shah, visited Zenjan and Mianeh during the past week to see for herself the plight to which the wretched inhabitants have been reduced by the Azerbaijan Democrats during their year of occupation.

Appointments, Promotions**"A" Civil—**

16. (i) Ahmad Aramish, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Industry, to be officiating Minister of Labour and Propaganda vice Muhammad Wali Farmanfarmayan resigned.
 - (ii) Feriduni, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Interior, to be officiating Minister of the Interior.
 - (iii) Humayunjah, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, to be officiating Minister for Foreign Affairs.
 - (iv) Mohd Hakimi, Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones to be officiating Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones vice Ezaz Nikpay resigned.
- (Nos. (i) and (iv) of the above are due to the resignation of two Cabinet Ministers who seek election to the next Majlis (see paragraph 3 of Intelligence Summary No. 48). Nos. (ii) and (iii) are caused by the relinquishment of these two portfolios by the Prime Minister who also seeks election to the Majlis. According to the present Cabinet's interpretation of the Constitutional Law, a Prime Minister seeking election need not resign that office, but must relinquish any additional portfolios held by him.)
- (v) Ghulam Husein Farouhar, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, to be Minister of Roads and Communications vice Sadighi resigned.
 - (vi) Sadighi to be Governor-General of Azerbaijan.
 - (vii) Nusratullah Mohtashim to be Governor of Shahreza.

"B" Military—

- (i) Sarhang Nusratullah Bayender to be Sartip (Brigadier-General) for services in the field.

Russian Interests

17. The Soviet press, on 13th December, reported briefly the surrender of the Azerbaijan Democrats, but it was not till 19th December that Soviet reactions, in the shape of further news and comment in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* and other papers, became known. Tass special correspondent at Tabriz and the Tehran newspaper *Dad* are quoted as saying that whereas Qawam-us-Saltaneh had declared that his troops would enter Azerbaijan solely to maintain order during the elections, they had, in fact, created disorder. "Persecution of democratic elements had begun and hundreds of people had been arrested and shot in Tabriz alone." According to the Chief of the General Staff about 300 "Muhajirs" had been killed in the interval between the collapse of the Azerbaijan movement and the arrival of the Government forces. These "Muhajirs" had paid the penalty for their acts of oppression at the hands of the exasperated populace. Since the entry of the troops, according to the Chief of the General Staff, order had been restored and the troops had intervened to prevent further massacres and destruction of property.

Chinese Interests

18. Lieutenant-Colonel Liu has assumed the appointment of Chinese Military Attaché at Tehran vice Colonel Tsi-an-Huang who left Persia three months ago and is now employed in the M.O. Directorate at Chinese Army Headquarters.

up their posts (and, presumably, replace the temporary military Government by the normal civil one), and, as for Fars, the Government has laid down as a necessary preliminary the surrender by the tribes of all the arms captured from the Government forces in the recent hostilities.

Internal Security**Azerbaijan**

2. Since the arrival of the Government forces in the province, conditions have been gradually returning to normal. The civil Governor-General, Ali Mansur, has left to assume his post and various Governors have been appointed. The immediate problems facing the Administration are, firstly, the disposal of the Barzani Kurds, who are now in the Naqadeh region, secondly, disarmament, and, thirdly, the restoration of the economic life of the province and the distribution of rationed cloth, tea and sugar. The press reports the despatch of quantities of wheat to the province from Tehran, and these together with the supplies available locally should be adequate to last until the next harvest. The trials of captured *émigrés* and of locals accused of crimes perpetrated under the late régime, will be carried out, it is understood, by those same military tribunals which are at present sitting on the cases of deserter officers.

3. The military attaché is submitting a separate report on his recent tour of the province, and a summary of events based on telegrams from His Majesty's Consul-General is given below. Immediately after the reoccupation of the province by the army, martial law was declared in Tabriz and the major towns. "Muhajirs" and armed Democrats were rounded up and an end put to lynch law. Prior to this it was estimated that 200 to 300 "Fidais" and others who had outraged the locals by their brutality during the Democrat régime, were killed by infuriated mobs. Early arrests included Dr. Jawid, the Governor-General, Shabistari, President of the Provincial Council, and "General" Kabiri, chief of the "Fidais." The latter has been condemned to death by a military tribunal. Many leaders escaped to Russia, including "General" Panahian, Chief of Staff of the People's Army, and Ghulam Yahya Daneshian, Commandant of the Gendarmerie. About 300 leading adherents of the party and twenty-two deserter army officers were arrested in the early

days. Since then further arrests have been made as wanted characters have been discovered. However, in general, the Central Government's policy has been one of clemency, and this to a degree which did not accord with the feelings of the populace, which gave vent to them by closing the Tabriz bazaar on 28th December as a protest against the number of party leaders who had been released from custody. On 30th December Brigadier Hashemi stated that approximately 1,000 Democrats were still in hiding in Tabriz alone, and that to round them up would be a difficult task as they were being actively assisted by the Russian Consul, and because he had inadequate forces at his disposal. He stated that the Russian Consul was continually making unfounded complaints of the molestation of Russian property in order to discredit him. In this they were apparently successful, because, although he was carrying out his duties very well, he was recalled to Tehran and succeeded by Brigadier Zarrabi on 3rd January. As a step to restoring public confidence, Pirnia, the Prime Minister's Deputy, visited Tabriz and other spots to assure the people of the Government's goodwill if they worked well to restore conditions to normal.

Fars

4. Mohammed Hussain Qashgai has been in Tehran, presumably discussing the surrender of the arms in the possession of the tribe. He expressed himself as being most apprehensive of the intentions of the army, and the Minister for War has confirmed the Shah's statement referred to in paragraph 9 of Intelligence Summary No. 50 of 1946, by saying that the tribe will be disarmed completely with the advent of spring.

5. Amir Humayun, who had won a degree of local confidence, has been removed from the post of Governor-General, and the Qashgai regard the arrival of his successor, Fatemi, with some apprehension. There appears to have been some divergence of opinion about the policy to be adopted towards the tribe as military representatives have been acting, according to reports received from His Majesty's Consul, with a blood thirstiness which does not have the sanction of the Governor-General. The Divisional Commander issued a proclamation (of which the Governor-General claims complete ignorance) to the effect that the elections in Fars

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PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 1

Period 23rd December, 1946, to 5th January, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 8 of 8th January; Received 15th January)

Persian Affairs**Political**

1. The Central Electoral Supervisory Council has issued an election notice to the citizens of Tehran and its suburbs to poll

between 11th and 17th January. Elections in most other parts of the country are expected to follow soon after, but, regarding Azerbaijan, the Government has stated that Government officials must first take

will not be held until the tribes surrender the arms captured by them recently, and a further one stating that rumours to the effect that the amnesty declared by the Prime Minister to the tribe is invalid are without foundation.

6. The Prime Minister has had a political success in that the tribal leaders have dissolved the Fars National Movement and have asked for admission to his party.

7. Reference Intelligence Summary No. 39, dated 6th October, 1946, paragraph 6. The reports which led to the assumption that the Persian garrison had been massacred at Bushire after it had surrendered to the Haiat Daudi tribesmen, have been proved to be false, and His Majesty's Consul, Bushire, now states that no such massacre did, in fact, take place.

Isfahan

8. The Tudeh Party is in eclipse with Fidakar in the capital and many members deserting its ranks. In addition, a new trades union, sponsored by the Democrat Party, is gradually ousting the Tudeh. It does not now appear likely that the Tudeh will put up a serious candidate to contest the elections.

Khorassan

9. The Tudeh Party Headquarters were wrecked by members of the Iran Democrat Party on 23rd December, and since that date some leading Tudeh members are believed to have been arrested by the police.

Kurdistan

10. Mullah Mustafa Barzani and some of his lieutenants are now under surveillance in Tehran, and it is understood that discussions are going on with regard to their ultimate disposal. Mohammed Qazi and other Kurdish leaders remain under arrest in Mahabad.

Appointments

A.—Civil

11. Ali Mansur (Mansur-um-Mulk) C.B.E. (F.O. 88; M.A. 164) to be Governor-General of Azerbaijan.

Saiyid Mehdi Fatimi (Imad-us-Sultaneh) (F.O. 43; M.A. 92) to be Governor-General of Fars.

Nusratullah Mohtashem to be Governor of Shahreza.

Ali Akbar Rasul to be Governor of Talesh.

Hussain Ali Dara to be Governor of Semnan.

Sulaiman Kalhur to be Governor of Zenjan.

Dr. Hussain Marzeban (Sa'id-ul-Mulk) to be Governor of Saqqiz, Baneh and Sardasht.

Imad Mumtaz to be Governor of Tabriz.

Fazlullah Hatemi to be Governor of Khoi.

Ismail Bahadur to be Governor of Ardebil.

Hussain Mir-Mumtaz to be Governor of Ahar.

Mohammed Reza Kowsar to be Governor of Maragheh.

Ibrahim Shayan to be Governor of Rezaieh.

Ahmed Karubi to be Governor of Maku.

Mohammed Meqtadir Mujdehi to be Governor of Qazvin.

Abbas Tabatabai Muqaddam to be Governor of Malayir.

Mohammed Movahedi to be Governor of Nishapur.

Abbas Quli Ardalan to be Persian financial and commercial representative in Washington.

B.—Military.

Sartip Nusratullah Motazzedi to be adjutant to His Imperial Majesty the Shah.

Sartip Mohammed Ali Khosredad to be Commander of Gendarmerie Forces in Azerbaijan.

Sartip Ghulam Mahmud Baharmast to be Commander of the Military Academy (Daneshkadeh-yi-Afsaran).

Sarhang Nasrullah Muqbeli to be Sartip in recognition of services rendered at Astara.

Sarhang Ghulam Ali Azad-Yanganeh to be director of the Propaganda Department of the gendarmerie.

Obituary

12. Sartip Mohammed Baqir Amir-Nizami on 28th December, 1946.

Arrests

13. Qasim Khan Fouladvand, Majlis Deputy in 14th Majlis for Japalak and Burburud, and Abbas Mirza Hishmati, Majlis Deputy in 14th Majlis for Mahallat. Both are large landowners in their districts and are candidates in the current elections.

Releases

14.—(i) Sheikh Hussain Lankarani and his brothers whose arrest was reported in Intelligence Summary No. 32 of 18th August, 1946, paragraph 5.

(ii) Hisam-ud-Din Daulatabadi, whose arrest was reported in Intelligence Summary No. 33 of 25th August, 1946, paragraph 1.

American Interests

15. In connexion with the Government's seven-year national development scheme, a commission from the American firm, Morris and Khudsen, consulting engineers and contractors, is coming to Persia at the request of the Persian Government to carry out a survey in connexion with the loan requested from the United States of 2½ million dollars to finance the scheme. Three members have arrived and the remainder are expected shortly.

Gendarmerie

16. The nomenclature of "Nigahbani," which was adopted a few months ago, has been abandoned in favour of the former one of "Gendarmerie."

Police

17. The press announces a general increase in pay for all ranks of 500 rials per month.

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No. 71

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 2

Period 6th–12th January, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 18 of 15th January; Received 21st January)

Persian Affairs

Political

The publicity campaign now being worked up against the Persian Government on the Moscow radio has gone beyond mere accusations of savage retaliatory measures against the Azerbaijan Democrats and seems to be directed towards showing the Persian Government up in the eyes of the world as reactionary in its treatment of its workers, citing as an example the Persian Government's recent refusal to admit a delegation from the World Federation of Trades Unions. As a counter measure the Persian Government invited the I.L.O. to send a team of

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Military

18. The military tribunals sitting in Tabriz and Mahabad (according to press notices) so far have passed the death sentence on six army officers, and this has been carried out in four cases. Three junior officers have been sentenced to life imprisonment and one to fifteen years. The trials of four others have been completed, but the sentences have not yet been promulgated.

19. The reorganisation of the Azerbaijan Division has now come before the Ministry for War. The major problem is the appointment of an officer to perform this task who is sufficiently senior and competent. The Minister for War stated that General Yazdanpanah had been selected for this duty but did not wish to go, and that the original nominee, Brigadier Alavi Muqaddam, possessed neither the requisite competence nor seniority. A final selection has not yet been made.

20. At the request of the General Staff a mobile cinema van of the British Embassy Information Department is touring Azerbaijan for a fortnight to provide entertainment for the troops stationed there.

NOTE.—As there had been no events of major importance during the week ending 29th December, no Summary was issued.

observers to investigate the allegations made by the Tudeh Party. Subsequently the Persian Government withdrew its ban on the W.F.T.U. and announced its readiness to admit a delegation from that body also.

2. The Persian newspaper *Mardum*, which has replaced *Rahbar* as the official organ of the Tudeh Party, published on 5th January long statements by the Provincial Executive Committee of that party which indicate that it is to be drastically reformed. Past mistakes, inexperience and ineptitude attributable to the presence of harmful elements in the party are admitted and a full confession is made of

K 2

the errors of supporting the Azerbaijan Democrats. In future it will seek to achieve its aims solely by legal and parliamentary methods. It desires friendly relations with all foreign Governments which respect the independence of Persia. It is opposed to neither private ownership, capitalism nor religion. It does not aim at the dictatorship of the proletariat or even a Labour Government. Such a public confession couched in such impeccable language deserved a better fate than has so far befallen it at the hands of the majority of Persians who have laughed cynically at this attempt on the part of the Ethiopian to change his skin.

3. The elections are, naturally, the chief topic and the Government, in the person of Qawam-us-Saltaneh, is being accused both by the Left and the Right of having rigged the elections and of bringing unfair pressure to bear to secure the election of his party's nominees.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

4. There is little news from Azerbaijan. In paragraph 11 below, reference is made to the sentences passed by the courts martial on the Persian army officers who deserted and joined the rebels. The trial of Qazi Muhammad and his immediate associates is still in progress at Mahabad. A press report gives statistics of the arms so far recovered in that region. With the exception of an obvious mistake in regard to A.A. guns, none of which were lost by the Persian army garrisons when they surrendered last year, the figures approximate to those given to the military attaché by General Humayuni on 29th December at Mahabad. They are as follows:—

Rifles, B.R.N.O. (Persian army pattern)	3,630
Rifles, other types	1,537
L.M.G.s	119
M.M.G.s	14
Sub-machine guns	5
Revolvers, miscellaneous	187
Mortars, 85-mm. (Persian army pattern)	1
S.A.A.	400,000 rounds

5. Up till recently Pishevari has been broadcasting from a clandestine station believed locally to be Nakhechevan. He advised his erstwhile followers to be patient and await the return of their former leaders, warning, at the same time,

any backsliders who collaborated with the Persian Government of coming vengeance. The Persian press, with every justification, has protested loudly against this flagrant breach of the provisions of the 1921 Russo-Persian Treaty relating to movements directed against one State from inside the territory of the other. In connexion with these broadcasts the United States Military Attaché informed the British Military Attaché that he had on a previous visit to Tabriz seen a mobile transmitter of American make mounted on a railway truck.

Fars

6. Muhammad Husein Qashgai has had interviews with Brigadier-General Hushmand Afshar, presumably in connexion with the handing over of the arms captured by the Qashgai and others from the Persian army garrisons during the recent hostilities. His Majesty's Consul reports that Husein Quli Rustam and the Kazerunis have expressed their willingness to comply with the Persian Government's orders on this subject.

Bushire

7. His Majesty's Consul at Bushire reports that the tribal leaders in that area also have decided to comply with the orders to return the captured arms, but, fearing bad faith on the part of Brigadier Hushmand Afshar, who ordered them to bring the arms to Shiraz, have stipulated that they will deliver them to the Governor of Bushire.

Gilan

8. M. Konstantin Melnikov, on appointment as first secretary in the Soviet Embassy at Tehran, has been succeeded as Consul-General in Gilan by M. Sergei Kasanski.

Khuzistan

9. A consular report from Bahrein states that Sheikh Abdullah Khazal (see paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 43 of 1946), though in receipt of a written assurance from the Governor-General of Khuzistan to the effect that the Persian Government has no objection to his return to Persia from Koweit, is suspicious of treachery both on the part of the Persian Government and of his elder brother Sheikh Chassib. He has asked for confirmation by the British of the good intentions of the Persian Government. Such an assurance, which would, of course, be

interpreted by him as a guarantee of personal safety in any circumstances and irrespective of his own future actions, is hardly likely to be forthcoming.

Persian Army

10. Sipahbud (General) Yazdan Panah did not accept the appointment of G.O.C.-in-C., Azerbaijan. Sarlashgar (Major-General) Ismail Shafai, the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, is to tour the area but not to take up the appointment refused by General Yazdan Panah, which is still vacant.

11. Reference paragraph 18 of last Intelligence Summary, a press report now gives the number of Persian army deserter officers who joined the rebels and who have been sentenced to death by court martial as twenty-two. One Persian air force n.c.o. was also sentenced to death. The same press report states that the sentences have been carried out.

The Court

12. Some months ago a Persian newspaper stated that Prince Ali Reza, the Shah's younger brother, had married a Polish girl in France. The Paris special correspondent of the *Journal de Tehran*, in its issue of 12th January, issues a *démenti* of this. Prince Ali Reza, when last heard of, was carrying out an attachment to the French army. During the latter years of Reza Shah's reign, Ali Reza made himself

very unpopular owing to his depraved habits and, ever since his father's abdication, periodical rumours of his return to Persia have invariably caused protests in the press.

Appointments

A.—Civil

13.—(i) Dr. Abdul Husein Fatemi, son of Imad-us-Saltaneh, to be Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

(ii) Kazim Saffari to be Director-General of the Ministry of Roads and Communications.

B.—Military

(i) Sartip Etemad Muqaddam to be Director of Army Transport.

(ii) Sartip Muhammad Husein Jehanbani to be Under-Secretary of State for War (Administration) *vice* Sartip Muqtadir. Brigadier-General Jehanbani, a cousin of Sarlashgar Amanullah Jehanbani, now with the Persian Military Mission in France, has a most unsavoury reputation as a gambler, an intriguer and an embezzler. The replacement of Sartip Muqtadir, one of the few honest officers in the Persian army, by Muhammad Husein Jehanbani will tend to discredit the Shah, the Minister for War and the army in general by giving the impression that peculation, open and unashamed, is, once again, the order of the day.

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No. 72

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 3

Period 13th–19th January, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 32 of 22nd January; Received 4th February)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. The elections for the 15th Majlis are, naturally, in the forefront of the news. Polling ended in Tehran on 18th January and it is expected that the results will be announced by the end of the week. Though seventy booths had been set up in various parts of the city, attendances were poor. Elections are now in full swing or just about to start in most of the other constituencies except Azerbaijan and Fars. The constituency of Talish, Gilan, has already made its return and the Tehran radio

announced that Haji Agha Reza Rafi, Qaimmaqam-ul-Mulk, has been elected. He won the same seat in the last elections. Some disturbances are reported from Arak (Sultanabad) and Yezd caused by local opposition to the nominees of the Iran Democrat Party.

2. On 14th January a group of about fifteen political opponents of the Prime Minister took "bast" in the Royal Palace as a protest against the allegedly unfair method of conducting the elections. The chief members were the hysterical and demented demagogue, Dr. Musaddiq; his

ex-internee son-in-law, Dr. Matin Daftari; Seyyid Muhammad Sadiq Tabatabai, the president of the 14th Majlis but better known as "seventeen misqals" (the equivalent, in opium-smoking parlance, of a "four bottle man"). Their allegations of misconduct of the elections were, briefly, as follows:—

- (i) That the elections were not free so long as prominent politicians such as Seyyid Zia-ud-din and Saman-daji were kept in custody.
- (ii) That the electoral supervisory committees were not impartial since they contained members of the Iran Democrat Party.
- (iii) That unlawful hindrances had been placed in the way of meetings, use of their headquarters, canvassing, &c., by other political parties.
- (iv) That the Tehran radio was reserved exclusively for the propaganda of the Iran Democrat Party.
- (v) That undue pressure was being brought to bear upon workers in Tehran to cast their votes for the Iran Democrat Party.
- (vi) That instructions had been sent out to provincial Governors to secure the election of Iran Democrat Party's nominees.

No effort seems to have been made to prove these allegations but statements denying their truth have been made by the other side. The word "bast" in this connexion is usually translated as "sanctuary" but this is only partially true and refers to a fugitive from justice taking sanctuary in a shrine, a foreign legation or consulate, a telegraph office or the Royal stables. The privilege can be claimed, as in this case, by a group not fleeing from justice but demanding it. The custom also requires the owner of the premises to see that justice is done. This placed the Shah in an awkward predicament. Were he to do nothing he would be denying an ancient privilege of his subjects. If he refused to listen to them he would lay himself open to accusations of supporting his Prime Minister in unconstitutional acts. Were he to accept the truth of their allegations he would precipitate a conflict between himself and Qawam-us-Saltaneh at a moment awkward for each of them and for Persia. The American Ambassador, when consulted by the Shah, appears to have tendered good advice and the "bast" takers finally consented to leave.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan and Kurdistan

3. No information has reached His Majesty's Embassy from His Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz during the past week. Dr. Iqbal, the Minister for Health, on return from an extended tour of Azerbaijan, confirmed to the Chief of the General Staff, the reports already heard by the British Military Attaché of ever-growing disgust on the part of the populace with the resumption of bribery and corruption by the police and gendarmerie.

4. According to the Chief of the General Staff, no decision had been taken up to 14th January on the question of Mulla Mustafa Barzani's future and, in consequence, no operations to disarm his followers had as yet been undertaken. They are in the Ushnu and Naqadeh areas. According to the same source, the Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires in Tehran appears to have given up his demand for Mulla Mustafa's extradition and is now trying to get a guarantee out of the Persian Government that they will enforce a *résidence forcée* on him at some safe distance from the Iraqi-Persian frontier.

Khuzistan.

5. Some underground activity by the "Tudeh" Party in Abadan is reported by His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr. Some of their leaders are in hiding but are active in raising funds from the workers with the assurance that the party is biding its time in order to stage a comeback. Secret meetings attended, on an average, by about thirty workers are held in private houses and the usual attacks against British imperialism and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are made. Security in Abadan is said to have improved but to have deteriorated in Khorramshahr.

Persian Army

6. There is clear evidence of growing tension between the Minister for War and the Chief of the General Staff and each has confided to the British Military Attaché his mistrust of the other. The personalities of these two high ranking officers partially account for this enmity but, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the prime causes it is necessary to make a brief excursion into recent history. The organisation of the Ministry of War follows, in the main, the Belgian model and Reza Shah, mindful of the means by which

he came to power, was the last person to diminish the rôle played by the Sovereign in this set-up. He further tightened his control of the army by installing, as a matter of policy, in the Ministry of War a succession of reliable and submissive dolts who could be trusted to follow no policy other than his own. He then proceeded to deal direct on all matters, great or small, with the Chief of the General Staff. After his abdication, his successor was prevented for the first four years by a watchful and suspicious Cabinet, Majlis and press from any attempts to follow in his father's footsteps. Increasing lawlessness on the part of the tribes, increasing pressure by the Tudeh and the ominous southward infiltration by the Azerbaijan Democrats gradually wrought a change and the army exchanged its rôle from that of oppressor for that of saviour. This glory was reflected in the person of its Royal commander-in-chief and the astute General Razmara was quick to exploit the advantages. He pleased the Shah by following his advice in the formulation of military plans for the advance into Azerbaijan. He consulted him in matters of armament. He referred to him even the most trivial details of daily administration thereby flattering him into thinking himself a commander-in-chief in more than name. He presented to him daily reports of the situation and morale of the army. On the purely political front the Chief of the General Staff had the closest relations with the Prime Minister and thus the Minister for War finds himself relegated more and more to the background—a position General Ahmedi has no intention of occupying. In the coming struggle he will probably pierce his rival's defences in the only weak spot, his lust for money. General Razmara's speculations are making even the Persian army gasp and, if General Ahmedi can prove these, he may succeed in ousting his rival from the Shah's favour.

7. Reference paragraph 11 of last Intelligence Summary, the Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 14th January that the number of Persian army deserter officers who have been court-martialled and sentenced to death and executed for having taken up arms against the State is as follows:—

At Tabriz ...	...	19
At Ardebil ...	...	4
At Mahabad ...	...	14
Total ...	...	37

8. When discussing a written request for vacancies for Persian officers at military schools of instruction in the United Kingdom, the Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché that he hoped to obtain sufficient credits in next year's budget—the financial year starts on 21st March, 1947—to send abroad up to one hundred officers divided equally among United Kingdom, United States, France and Russia.

9. Sarlashgar Hasan Arfa (F.O. 17; M.A. 37) has been released but there are restrictions imposed on his movements. He was arrested in April 1946 under Clause 5 of the Military Government Act, "subversive actions against the State," and also on a second charge of having furnished arms and ammunition to "subversive elements." A court-martial, assembled to try him about three months ago, had little difficulty in finding him not guilty of the second charge. General Arfa was in possession of written authority from the Minister of War of that time (General Riazi) to furnish these arms. The Minister of War, in his turn, had received oral permission from the then Prime Minister (Hakimi). Apart from this defence, the "subversive elements" were by this time "loyal partisans of Government" bravely resisting the infiltration of the Azerbaijan Democrat rebels from the Caspian Sea to Kurdistan. Trial on the first charge was delayed by lack of evidence, the traitorous knave, Muzaffar Firuz, having taken the relevant dossier away with him to Moscow on appointment as Ambassador there. The court-martial, a few weeks ago, finally stated that there was no case against General Arfa, a bold utterance under the circumstances, for which General Naqdi, the Judge Advocate-General, deserves credit. No Persian has any doubt that it was largely General Arfa's bravery, patriotism and firmness which saved Tehran from invasion by "Muhajirs" and Azerbaijan Democrats or from a seizure of power by the "Tudeh," or from both, in the dark days of November 1945 after the Persian army column had been turned about from Qazvin with the greatest ignominy by the Russian army garrison at that place. That he should have remained the object of intense dislike by the Russians and by the Tudeh is, therefore, natural. Unfortunately for General Arfa, his impetuosity, his tactlessness and his spiteful nature also antagonised General Razmara and his clique. It is not likely that the continuance of the

restrictions on General Arfa's liberty is due to any fear of the "Tudeh" on the part of the Prime Minister since that body is, for the moment, effectively suppressed. It may or may not be due to a disinclination on the Prime Minister's part to give the Russians further cause for annoyance. It is most probably a move on General Razmara's part to keep under observation and control an implacable enemy and a dangerous rival.

Persian Gendarmerie

10. General Schwarzkopf informed the British Military Attaché on 12th January that the total strength of the gendarmerie was now 23,000 and that by the end of 1947 he hoped to reach the figure of 30,000. About 3,000 of the increase was due to the reconstitution of the force in Azerbaijan where it is proposed to locate four regiments—two at Tabriz, one at Khoi and one at Rezaieh. According to the Chief of the General Staff, the budget for the gendarmerie now amounts to 75 million tomans, or exactly half the army budget. In view of the growing rivalry between the two services, described in the following paragraph, the Chief of the General Staff's statement may be an exaggeration and will require confirmation.

11. It is evident that jealousy between the army and gendarmerie is increasing. The Minister for War and the Chief of the General Staff are sinking their personal differences in order to present a combined front and attempt to regain administrative control of the gendarmerie. If they do succeed in doing so it will be over the dead body of General Schwarzkopf, the American adviser to the latter force. After the entry of British and Russian troops into Persia in 1941 and the disintegration of the Persian army and, to a lesser extent, of the gendarmerie ("the events of Shahrivar") the gendarmerie was removed from the control of the Ministry of War and placed under the Ministry of the Interior. The politicians, in particular, with vivid memories of Reza Shah's régime, were strongly averse to a reconstitution of the Persian army in its previous strength fearing lest it should become the paramount power in the country, either on its own, or as a tool in the hands of a Shah who, at some later date, might wish to become a despot like his father. To this end they worked and schemed crippling the army by refusing to vote money or by bringing it into disrepute

by a ceaseless stream of vilification. At the same time they strove to build up the gendarmerie as a balance of power. The Prime Minister is well content to have under his orders an obedient force distributed in small detachments throughout the country. General Schwarzkopf is delighted to have direct access to the head of the State and to obtain without departmental delays the funds which he needs to expand and equip his force. The arguments used by the Minister for War and the Chief of the General Staff are, briefly, that Persia cannot afford the cost of two armies and that a great saving in administrative costs could be affected by unified control. General Schwarzkopf's arguments are that the functions of the two services are not identical, the army's task being the establishment of security while the maintenance of it is his. Moreover, he claims, his tasks are rarely those of a military nature. His men do the work of rural police, they arrest malefactors on behalf of the Ministry of Justice, they perform preventive duties on behalf of the Customs, they collect taxes on behalf of the Ministry of Finance, they carry out such tasks as are allotted to them by the Ministry of Agriculture and, in the light of such functions, are more properly placed under the Ministry of the Interior. If his force was under the Ministry of War he would receive as officers the leavings of the army. His hands would be tied in the matter of promotions and discipline and, finally, much of his budgetary allotment would adhere to the sticky fingers of the Ministry for War. As long as the present Prime Minister remains in office a change in administrative control is unlikely to occur.

Appointments

"A" Civil

12.—(i) Hishmat Samii to be Governor of Isfahan and assistant to the Ustandar (Governor-General) of the 10th (Isfahan) Ustan.

(ii) Hormuz Ahmedi to be Governor of Abadan. Hormuz Ahmedi is a son of Isfandiar Khan, Samsam-us-Saltaneh, of the Ilkhan branch of the Haft Lang Bakhtiari. It will be recalled that, as a result of the intrigues of Abul Qasim Bakhtiari, he was recently deposed from his governorship of Burujird and cast into prison on the entirely baseless charge of having been implicated along with Mr. Trott, His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz, in a plot to foment rebellion.

(iii) Mehdi Quli Mirza Muzaffari, elder son of the late Prince Nusrat-us-Saltaneh, G.C.V.O., to be Governor of Khurramabad.

(iv) Ahmad Ali Beni Adam to be Governor of Arak (Sultanabad) vice Mehdi Quli Mirza.

"B" Military

(i) Sartip Ahmad Khosrovani to be Deputy Chief of the General Staff vice Sartip Baharmast appointed Commandant of the Officers' Training College. Sartip Khosrovani has an unsavoury reputation in financial matters and was, moreover, obstructive and hostile to the late air

attaché in the matter of the purchase of Hurricane aircraft.

Releases

13.—(i) Qasim Fouladwand, a Deputy for Burujird in the 14th Majlis, arrested two weeks ago. Rumour says that his arrest was on account of opposition he had shown to the election of the Prime Minister's nominee from his Iran Democrat Party, Seyyid Abu Tarab Razawi.

(ii) Abbas Khalili, the editor of *Iqdam*.

(iii) Sarlashgar Hasan Arfa, the late Chief of the General Staff (see also paragraph 9 above).

E 1107/17/34

No. 73

MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 4

Period 20th-26th January

Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 37 of 28th January; Received 5th February

Persian Affairs

Political

Some provincial election results have been published and a day-to-day statement of the state of the poll in Tehran has appeared in most papers. The Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party candidates appear to be winning as was to be expected.

2. Now that the elections are under way and the assembly of the next Majlis within sight, more speculation is being heard about the Prime Minister's future actions in regard to his undertaking to introduce a bill for a joint Russo-Persian oil company in northern Persia. Most educated Persians, without pausing to examine the possibility of introducing safeguards to prevent Russian political infiltration under the guise of oil prospecting, are so convinced of their own ineptitude and weakness, and so thoroughly alarmed at recent events in Azerbaijan that they deny the practicability of any safeguards devised by themselves or by any one else, and take the extreme view that the granting of this concession or, more accurately speaking, the setting up of this joint company, will result in Russian political domination of the whole of northern Persia from Lake Urumiyeh to the Afghan frontier.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan and Kurdistan

3. The General Officer Commanding, Azerbaijan Division, has given the Kurdish tribes in the Shahpur, Khoi and Maku districts until 25th January to hand in their rifles. All of these tribes have carried rifles for a century or more, and with what they received from the Russians and captured from the Persian army are probably better armed than ever before. Their habitat is difficult of access and they can, if hotly pursued, cross the frontier into Iraq with ease. It is not expected, therefore, that the Persian army will have much success in this undertaking.

4. Feridun Ibrahim, the Chief Justice in the recent Democrat régime, has been sentenced to life imprisonment.

5. A press report states that Qazi Muhammad, the leader of the Kurdish independence movement, Sadr Qazi, his brother, the ex-Majlis Deputy, and Seif Qazi, a near relative, have all been sentenced to death by the military tribunal at Mahabad. The report states that the sentences will require confirmation.

Fars

6. Fatimi, the re-appointed Governor-General of Fars, in an interview with His

Majesty's Consul, expressed the opinion that the Government's aims in Fars could be achieved by peaceful means and that he was strongly opposed to oppressive measures. The chief aim, of course, is the disarming of the tribes amongst whom the Qashgai, on account of their size, and the Boir Ahmedi, on account of their predatory habits, loom the largest. The Governor-General stated that in discussing this matter Nasir Khan had shown a reasonable spirit, but that Khosro Khan, his younger brother, might not prove so tractable. The Shah flew to Shiraz on 17th January, and saw Nasir Khan during the brief stay he made. The meeting is said to have been cordial. Some of the Kuhgilu chiefs have visited Tehran during the past week.

Khorassan

7. His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed reports that the local press is voicing similar allegations about rigged elections as were summarised in paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary. Polling was expected to start on 25th January. There are only four seats for Meshed town and all the candidates belong to the Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party.

8. The local administration has, at last, taken measures to afford relief to the famine stricken areas of Qainat, but of the 5,000 kharwars (about 1,700 tons) of grain sent there only 10 per cent. is fit for human consumption.

Mekran

9. His Majesty's Consul at Zahidan reports that three prominent local chieftains have been summoned to Tehran. They are Muhammad Amin the Narei Sardar of Zabul, Mir Abdi and Khan Sahib Idu Khan Reki, a Deputy in the last Majlis and the great rival of Arbab Mehdi, elected to the seat in the recent elections. The first two have obeyed the summons but the third has not. It appears that Colonel Karimi, the former commanding officer of the local gendarmerie regiment, made a false report to the effect that these and other Baluchi chiefs had been supplied with arms by the British Government and were planning a rising.

Khuzistan

10. A local reaction to the recent manifesto by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party has occurred. A number of

ex-Tudeh members have complained that they have been let down by the party and that their funds have been embezzled. They now intend to sever all connexion with the Tudeh and form an oil workers' union which will conform with the labour law and publish its accounts. It is disclosed that the late treasurer of the Tudeh Party in Abadan purchased from party funds a motor car costing about £4,500.

The Persian Army

11. The Minister for War informed the British Military Attaché on 20th January that he had obtained a credit of 18 million tomans (approximately £140,000) for the reconstitution of the 3rd (Azerbaijan) Division with a proposed strength of 10,000 of all ranks. The same source also stated that the cost of the recent operations in Khamseh, Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Gilan had been met by a special grant from the Persian Government of 20 million tomans, or more than £150,000.

12. Brigadier-General Grow, General Ridley's successor as Chief of the American Military Mission to the Persian army, in conversation with the British Military Attaché, confirmed the reports given in paragraphs 6 and 11 of last Intelligence Summary of tension between the Ministry of War and the General Staff and between the army and the gendarmerie. Brigadier-General Grow stated that negotiations were now in progress between the Persian Government and the State Department for a credit of 20 million dollars for military equipment. Though the War Department, he said, had a great deal of combat equipment for sale, he felt, and the State Department had accepted his view, that by far the greater part of this credit should be expended on much needed equipment such as M.T., clothing and medical stores. In putting forward this view he was meeting with much opposition, especially from the Shah, who had extravagant ideas of buying, among other things, a large number of tanks of the largest possible size. Another matter, continued General Grow, was causing the State Department some anxiety. This was the incessant demands by the gendarmerie for more and more equipment of a purely combat type. The State Department had expressed doubts as to the wisdom of supplying this and had pertinently asked General Grow whether the Persian Government intended to maintain two armies, and, if it did, whether in supplying them both with war

material the State Department might not unwittingly be providing the means for a conflict between them particularly in view of the widely held belief that the army was for the Shah, while the gendarmerie was the object of the Prime Minister's special and favourable attention.

13. In the Persian army, as in most other armies, the cry goes up from combatant unit commanders that their officer strength is depleted in order to provide for the already swollen staffs of higher formations. In the Persian army the complaint would appear justified since a source reports that on 1st January, 1947, out of a total of 5,036 officers in Tehran, no less than 3,605 were holding staff appointments in the Ministry of War, the General Staff or in administrative services.

14. The special military tribunals assembled in Tabriz and Mahabad are still busy trying officers and n.c.o.s guilty of desertion to the rebel cause. During the past week a press report, based on a General Staff communiqué, states that a further batch of ten w.o.s and sergeants had been condemned to death and shot.

Economic

15. The Supreme Labour Council has fixed 34 rials as the minimum daily wage for Tehran district. In view of the very high cost of living in Persia in general and in Tehran in particular, this sum, equivalent to 5s. 3d., hardly seems adequate

especially since no effective action is now being taken by the Persian Government to lower prices.

Appointments

16. Abbas Hishmati to be Governor of Hamadan.

Releases

17. The following have been set free:—

- (i) Abbas Hishmati Deputy in the last Majlis for Mahallat.
- (ii) Jehanshah Khan Bakhtiari, son of Murteza Quli Khan, a former Governor of Bakhtiari. After Murteza Quli Khan's removal from office, Jehanshah Khan was, for a time, co-Governor with Abul Qasim Khan. Owing to the intrigues of the latter with Muzaffar Firuz, Jehanshah was imprisoned on account of complicity in the Bakhtiari plot.

Afghan Interests

18. His Excellency Rahimullah Khan, the newly-appointed Afghan Ambassador to Persia, has arrived in Tehran.

Turkish Interests

19. Four Turkish railway experts have arrived in Persia. It is believed that the object of their visit was to examine surplus rolling stock which the Persian Government had for sale.

E 1333/17/34

No. 74

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 5

Period 27th January to 2nd February

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 46 of 5th February; Received 12th February)

Persian Affairs

Political

The past week has been a quiet one. There has been no excitement over the elections as, with no competitors, the Government's party candidates are having it their own way. Though the Prime Minister is known to be considering the nature of the safeguards which he should include in any oil agreement to be concluded with the Soviet Government, speculation as to their nature in non-Government circles is less in evidence, the

average Persian being content, apparently, to wait for the convening of the Majlis.

2. The Prime Minister has addressed identical letters to the British, American and Soviet Ambassadors in which he mentions the losses incurred by Persia at Germany's hands during the war and asks for the admission of Persian representatives at the forthcoming conference on the peace treaty with Germany so that they may present their country's claims for reparations.

3. Military Government has been proclaimed in Gorgan, Mazanderan and

Shahsevan. In Shahsevan the tribesmen are believed to have refused to surrender the arms which the Persian Government provided and to have taken the law into their own hands in dealing with their recent enemies, the Democrats. In Mazandaran and Gorgan the reason for this step is unknown unless it be for the speedier collection of the arms, caches of which were discovered in connexion with the recent plot to overthrow the Government and interrupt communications.

The Court

4. Two rumours connected with the Court have been heard during the past week. The first was to the effect that preparations for the Shah's coronation were being made. There appears to be no truth behind this. The second rumour was that the body of the late Reza Shah was to be brought from Egypt to Persia for reinterment. There is some basis for this since announcements of the proposed date of arrival have appeared in the press and General Kerim Ogha Buzurmehri, one of Reza Shah's most trusted generals and intimates, is believed to have gone to Cairo to make the necessary arrangements.

5. A good deal of rather meretricious propaganda on behalf of the Persian Royal Family has appeared in the press of late. A long article urged Persians to welcome with fitting gratitude the return of Reza Shah's mortal remains to the land which he loved so deeply and served so well. The bravery and resolution of the present Shah, as Commander-in-Chief of the Persian army, in reconquering the lost province of Azerbaijan is stressed. Describing the charitable activities of Princess Ashraf, an article, sickening in its fulsome praise, likens her to Florence Nightingale.

Internal Security

Fars

6. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that a big meeting of tribal chiefs was held at Kazerun on 23rd January, at which Nasir Khan Qashgai and Fathullah Hayat Daudi were present. The handing in of rifles has begun, but most of those surrendered so far appear to be very old specimens. The light tank captured from the Persian army garrison which surrendered at Kazerun has also been returned.

Kurdistan

7. According to the Chief of the General Staff, Mulla Mustafa Barzani left Tehran

on 28th January for Naqadeh, where he is to confer with his followers. The Persian Government has given him till the end of the current Persian month (19th February) to choose one of the following courses of action:—

- (a) That all his followers should remain in Persia, accept Persian nationality and be settled in five villages in the Veramin-Khar district, about 30 miles south-east of Tehran, which are crown domains. The Persian Government would supply lorries to transport them thither and they would hand in their arms at Mianeh *en route*. The Persian Government would support them and set them up in agriculture for the first six months, after which they would have to support themselves.
- (b) That Mulla Mustafa and about 100 of the more prominent among his followers, who have been condemned to death or imprisonment in their absence by the Iraqi Government for their rebellious activities of two years ago, should remain in Persia under the conditions set out in (a) above and that the remainder should return to Iraq.
- (c) In the event of the Barzanis declining to accept either (a) or (b) the Persian Government would take steps to expel them from Persian territory but not to disarm them nor hand them over to the Iraqi Government—tasks which would almost certainly lead to a resumption of hostilities and which the Persian Government would be loth to undertake with Kurdistan in its present highly armed and inflammable condition.

Persian Army

8. According to a Tehran radio announcement and a newspaper article the Soviet Government has agreed to hand back some lorries which the Azerbaijan rebels had driven across the frontiers at Julfa and Astara when they fled. The Minister for War informed the British Military Attaché on 2nd February that strong representations had been made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Soviet Embassy demanding the return of these lorries and their contents, most of which were believed to consist of stolen arms and pillaged goods. If the Minister

for War has been correctly informed, the reply allegedly given by the Soviet Embassy was naïve, since they agreed to hand back the lorries but said that the contents belonged to them—a damaging admission of their complicity. The lorries, said to number about 120, will have to be towed as the Soviet Embassy has stated that they are non-runners.

9. During the past week a military parade was held at which His Imperial Majesty the Shah met and presented decorations to certain tribal leaders of the Kurds, Shahsevans and Talish in recognition of their services to the country during the recent struggle against the Azerbaijan Democrat rebels.

Persian Navy

10. Permission has, at last, been received from the Admiralty for two Persian naval officers to proceed to the United Kingdom to discuss the rehabilitation of the Persian navy. They are expected to leave Tehran by air on 13th February.

11. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 1st February that he had found a successful solution—if only a temporary one—of the financial difficulties with which the Ministry of War were faced in providing funds for the upkeep of the Persian navy even on its present limited scale. He had proved to the Ministry of Finance that the present activities of the navy were solely those of a preventive service on behalf of the Customs Department and that the cost should be borne by that department. To this the Minister of Finance had agreed and, at present, the maintenance and operating costs of such craft as the navy still possesses, the clothing, accommodation, feeding and pay of the officers and men are all being paid for by that Ministry.

Communications

12. In a communiqué to the press the Minister for Roads and Communications stated that the Ministry's present budget of 110 million rials is totally inadequate for the efficient upkeep of 27,000 kilom. of roads and that, over and above the proposed tax of 50 dinars per litre of petrol which would only yield 50 million rials, his Ministry would require a further grant of 500

million rials if it was to carry out constructional improvements and asphaltting of the main routes. Referring to railways the Minister gave the following particulars concerning partially completed sections:—

- (i) Mianeh-Tabriz: 300 kilom.; 5 per cent. to 35 per cent. completed; earthwork nearly complete; culverts, bridges, tunnels, buildings and rail-laying nil; estimated cost of completion 970 million rials.
- (ii) Shahrud-Meshed: 500 kilom.; first 200 kilom. complete except for rail-laying, remainder 5 per cent. to 55 per cent. complete; estimated cost of completion 200 million rials.
- (iii) Qum-Kashan: completed in every respect except rail-laying; estimated cost of completion 24 million rials.

To sum up, the Ministry's requirements for roads amount to an annual grant of over £1 million sterling and a non-recurring grant of about £4 million sterling. For railway completion it requires £10 million sterling spread over a period of, say, four years.

Appointments

A.—Civil

- 13.—(i) Izzatullah Hidayet to be Director-General of the Iranian State Railway.
- (ii) Muhammad Amir Aslani to be Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Commerce, Mines and Industry.
- (iii) Amir Muezz to be Governor of Khalkhal.

B.—Military

- (i) Sartip Muqbeli from Commander, Gilan Brigade, to be G.O.C., Tehran Cavalry Division.
- (ii) Sarhang Davallu to be Commander, Gilan Brigade.
- (iii) Sarhang Batmangalich, from Military Governor, Tabriz, to be Commander, Ardebil Brigade.

Russian Interests

14. The Soviet scientific mission, which has visited India recently, has passed through Tehran on its way back to Russia.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 6

Period 3rd-9th February, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 54 of 12th February; Received 19th February)

Persian Affairs

Political

The elections of Tehran have been concluded and the names of the first thirteen candidates for the twelve deputyships, in the order in which they headed the poll, are as below. All of them are members of the Democrat Party:—

Ahmed Qawam (Qawam-us-Saltaneh).
Dr. Ali Amini (F.O. 6).
Khusro Hidayat.
Dr. Jalal Abduh.
Dr. Javad Ashtiani.
Abdul Hussein Nikpur.
Abul Hassan Sadiqi.
Abbas Ma-sudi (F.O. 91).
Sayyid Ali Behbehani.
Malik-ush-Shuara Bahar (F.O. 25).
Sayyid Hashim Wakil.
Ali Vakili.
Dr. Rozazadeh Shafaq.

Dr. Shafaq will not get in if Qawam retains his deputyship. His intentions in this matter are not yet known, but a new interpretation of the Constitutional Law is being mooted whereby the Prime Minister does not count as a "Minister" in the sense of the ruling which excludes Ministers from election as Deputies.

2. In the provinces elections are continuing and some results have been published. These will be reported when sufficient candidates have been elected to provide the requisite quorum for convening the Majlis.

3. Despite officially inspired denials in the press there is some evidence of growing tension between the Shah and the Prime Minister. Ever since the successful re-occupation of Azerbaijan a certain section of the press has been at pains to stress the outstanding part played by the Shah as father of his country and commander-in-chief of its armed forces. Relations were further strained by the episode of the "bast" of Dr. Musaddiq (see paragraph 2 of Intelligence Summary No. 3). The growing rivalry between the army, popularly supposed to be solid for the Shah, and the gendarmerie, universally believed to be the tool of the Prime Minister, has already been mentioned in paragraph 11 of Intel-

ligence Summary No. 3. A Royalist propaganda drive in the press was noticed in paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary. The Prime Minister is believed to be on bad terms with the Chief of the General Staff, whom he accuses of interfering in the elections and of abetting the Shah in his designs for more active interference in the administration of the army. Mr. Nikpay, the Prime Minister's assistant, has now informed His Majesty's Ambassador that the army are taking the bit between the teeth in Azerbaijan and are obstructing the administration of Ali Mansur, the new Governor-General. Mr. Nikpay, in speaking of the elections, hinted broadly that the Shah was interfering in various constituencies, e.g., Isfahan, where Nikpay himself is a candidate, to secure the election of persons who do not owe allegiance to the Prime Minister and his party. Lavish entertainment by the army of numerous visiting tribal chiefs is held by some to indicate a ganging-up with the tribes by the Shah and his army against the Prime Minister.

Internal Security

Tribal General

4. During the past fortnight a large number of tribal chiefs have been visiting Tehran as guests of the army. The Shahsavan, Talish, Kurds, Kuh-i-galu and Boir Ahmedi have been represented. They have been lavishly entertained and have visited military formations in Tehran. In some cases, e.g., the Shahsavan and Kurds, medals were presented to them by the Shah to mark the services they had rendered in recent hostilities against the Azerbaijan rebels, and all have received gifts in some form or another. (Four Kurds have had an audience with the Shah, who presented each with a diamond ring.) The object appears to be the dual one of impressing these tribal representatives with the strength of the armed forces in the capital and of the goodwill of the Government towards them. The recent visit of the Shah to Shiraz and a rumour of a forthcoming visit of Nasir Khan Qashgai to the capital lends colour to the view that the Government may at last be

considering the adoption of a tribal policy, and may be endeavouring, by establishing friendly relations with the chiefs, to ensure at least a partial degree of disarmament without the necessity of having to resort to military operations.

Fars

5. The press has reported that Nasir Khan Qashgai will be visiting Tehran shortly. While this may be nothing more than a return visit to that paid by the Shah recently to Shiraz, it may, on the other hand, be part of the general entertainment of tribal chiefs which has been noticed in recent weeks.

Khuzistan

6. Reference paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 4 of 1947. His Majesty's Consul, Khorramshahr, reports that the Oil Workers' Union has made as yet little progress. Neither have they been officially registered nor have they established a headquarters. Moreover, workers, recalling the recently revealed scandal of misappropriation of party funds by the Tudeh treasurer, are very suspicious of this new union.

French Interests

7. The press published on 7th February the text of a financial agreement between France and Iran. The text is lengthy, consisting of twelve articles and a protocol of three more. This is, however, only the proposed treaty as passed by the Cabinet, and it has not yet been signed by the Governments concerned.

British Interests

8. An order has been placed by the Government for the re-equipment of the Tehran telephone system with the G.E.C.

Company. The order is of a value of £1 million and includes four automatic exchanges. It is to be completed in two years.

Russian Interests

9. His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, reports that the Soviet Consulate there, opened in August 1946, has now been closed. Mr. Alexander Nikitin, the consul at Shiraz, is to succeed Mr. Consul Krutchkov in Isfahan.

Obituary

10. Haj Ayatullah Husain Qumi, who succeeded the late Haj Ayatullah Sayyid Abul Hasan Isfahani at the end of November last, himself died on 7th February, 1947.

Appointments

11. (i) Moozz-ud-Din Ghaffari to be representative of the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda in Switzerland.
- (ii) Dr. Khosrow Khusrovani to be First Secretary of the Persian Standing Delegation to United Nations Organisation.
- (iii) Abul Qasim Pur-i-Vali, Persian Chargé d'Affaires in Berne, has been promoted to the rank of Minister.

Persian Police

12. The separate names of ranks for officers of the Police Force have been abolished, and they will in future be known by the ranks of equivalent officers of the army, e.g., a "Pasyar" will in future be known as a "Sarhang" (colonel), and a "Yavar" as a "Sargurd" (major).

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 7

Period 10th-23rd February, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 66 of 26th February; Received 6th March)

Persian Affairs

Political

Reference paragraph 2 of Intelligence Summary No. 5, the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs has addressed the following

telegram to the Secretary-General of the Foreign Ministers' Council in London:—

"On the instructions of my Government, I beg to inform you of the request of the Iranian Government to participate in the German Peace Conference

and its relevant committees. I therefore request you to submit my Government's request to the Foreign Ministers' Council and also to the Foreign Ministers' Deputies now meeting in London.

"Iran declared war on Germany and is a signatory to the United Nations Charter. Iran also signed the Tripartite Agreement with Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. and placed all its resources, from 1941 onwards, at the disposal of the Allies, and thus facilitated the ultimate common victory of the Allies. The Allied Governments, too, during the war, on various occasions showed a sympathetic attitude towards our subjects."

The Elections

2. The list of twelve Deputies elected for Tehran was given in paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary. A further list of fifty-seven provincial results, up to 22nd February, is given in an appendix to this summary. Thus, exactly half the total number of Deputies has been elected. Elections are now in progress in Behbahan, Isfahan, Sabzevar and Kashan. They have not yet started in Azerbaijan, Fars, Kurdistan, Hamadan and Khuzistan. One Deputy has also to be elected by each of the following communities: the northern Armenians, the southern Armenians, the Assyrians, the Zoroastrians and the Jews. It must be understood that the results are, so far, only provisional as, firstly, the elected Deputy has to signify his willingness to accept the seat, the Ministry of the Interior has to issue his credentials after receipt of a "no objection" certificate from the Provincial Supervisory Committee and, finally, the Majlis, after it has been convened, has to accept the credentials. A complete descriptive list of the Deputies will, therefore, be compiled only after the above formalities have been completed. In general, it may be said that all those elected so far are either members of the Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party or are on his list of approved candidates. His Majesty's Consuls have reported on the conduct of the elections in their consular districts and the consensus of opinion is that little, if any, manipulation of the polls occurred, such as tampering with the ballot boxes, falsification of the count or intimidation of voters, probably because there was no need to do so in view of the fact that the result was a foregone conclusion. The rigging of the elections consisted more of the preliminaries, such as the suppression

of rival parties, incarceration of rival candidates, the issue of instructions to provincial officials as to the persons who were to be elected and, finally, the inclusion in the supervisory boards of members of the Prime Minister's Party, and, in some cases, of the candidates themselves.

Internal Security

Kurdistan

3. The Persian Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 18th February that Mulla Mustafa Barzani had failed to persuade any of his followers or the Iraqi army deserters to accept the Persian Government's offer of settlement near Tehran. The whole tribe, therefore, had started to return to Iraq. They were avoiding the main Rowanduz road and intended using devious and difficult mountain tracks between the road on the south and the junction of the international boundaries of Turkey, Persia and Iraq at Ulugh Dag on the north. Two Persian army columns moving westwards from Ushnu and Rezaieh were shepherding them from a discreet distance in the rear to ensure that they did actually cross the frontier and that they provoked no local hostilities *en route*. The Chief of the General Staff intends to send out a reconnaissance sortie of the Persian Air Force in a few days' time to locate their position.

4. Four columns based on Mahabad, Ushnu, Rezaieh and Khoi are moving westwards to continue disarming the Kurds but the presence of the Barzanis on Persian soil has delayed the start, as the General Staff did not wish to add to its difficulties by having a clash with the rear parties of this tribe now at last on its way back to Iraq. Friendly contact, both in Tehran and Azerbaijan, is being maintained as far as possible with the Kurdish chiefs in the hopes that they may be induced to surrender their arms without recourse to operations. Amar Khan Shakkak is reported to be on his way to Tehran for conversations in this respect.

Azerbaijan

5. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz has produced evidence which refutes the accusation of supineness made by the Prime Minister's assistant against Ali Mansur, the Governor-General of Azerbaijan. No one acquainted with his character could make this accusation seriously and one reason for it almost certainly lies in his refusal to accept the Prime

Minister's Tehran carpet baggers in place of Azerbaijanis as candidates for the elections. Ali Mansur can get neither the money nor the honest and capable officials he requires. The re-erection of the governmental machine in an area which, for all practical purposes, ceased to be a part of Persia for a year naturally takes time. About a third of his entire province is tribal territory now in process of being disarmed and in these areas, obviously, reconstitution of the civil power must wait upon the successful completion of military operations. To add to his difficulties a whispering campaign, of Russian origin, carried out by former supporters of the Azerbaijan Democrat régime, aims at undermining confidence in the Central Government and creating an atmosphere of mistrust.

6. Accusations of corruption have been made against the army and are almost certainly well founded since the army is in no way behind other departments in this respect. General Zarrabi, according to His Majesty's Consul-General, is not turning a blind eye to this and has suspended four officers suspected of accepting bribes. With the notable and serious exception, referred to in paragraph 11 below, accusations of high-handed behaviour appear to be less well founded since His Majesty's Consul-General reports that General Zarrabi, impatient at the law's delays, himself investigated the cases pending against several persons suspected of complicity in the late régime and, in the course of one day, liberated fifty-five of them.

7. Reports reaching Tabriz say that the Russians are still detaining in a concentration camp near Nakhjawan those "Muhajirs," Armenians and "Fidais" who fled across the border when the independence movement collapsed. They are said to be employed on forced labour and to be kept on a starvation diet. A report from the American Assistant Military Attaché confirms this. While recently at Astara he saw an ex-sergeant of the Persian army who had deserted to the Azerbaijan People's Army and had been promoted to captain in that force. After the fall of Astara he and his battalion of conscripts ("Kizilbash") had crossed the frontier into Russia, been disarmed, moved by rail for two days and put into a concentration camp as prisoners of war at a place in the Caucasus unidentified but probably near Lankoran. When he and his

companions remonstrated against such treatment at the hands of their erstwhile supporters the Russians told him he must be dreaming as they knew nothing of any Azerbaijan Democrat army and had never supported such a force in any way. The ex-sergeant escaped and, after making his way, partly by rail and partly on foot, succeeded in crossing the frontier at Astara, where he surrendered to the Persian commander exclaiming that he was fully aware of the punishment which awaited him for desertion to the rebel cause but that he preferred being shot in Persia to being alive in a Russian concentration camp.

Fars

8. The Governor-General of Fars, accompanied by Nasir Khan Qashgai and Fathullah Hayat Daudi, has arrived in Tehran. The object of the journey, according to His Majesty's Consul in Shiraz, is "to effect a general reconciliation between the Central Government and the tribes of Fars." In Tehran it is believed, however, that the visit, at any rate in so far as Nasir Khan and Fathullah are concerned, is more probably connected with the Shah than with the Prime Minister (see last sentence of paragraph 3 of last Intelligence Summary) and that some sort of bargain may be struck whereby, in return for securing the election in Fars of candidates favourable to the Shah, the southern tribes will be let down lightly when their turn comes to be disarmed. Another and obvious purpose of the visit is to lay before the Persian Government the proposals of the "Fars Society," a rather pallid descendant of the Fars Autonomy Movement of last autumn. A petition, signed by prominent Farsis resident in the capital and in Fars, has been presented to the Prime Minister. It is a much-watered-down version of the "demands" made by Nasir Khan at the conclusion of last year's hostilities (see paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 41 of 1946) and consists of "requests" of the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Fars within the framework of the Persian Government's seven-year plan. It specially mentions the construction of docks at Bushire and Lingeh (a senseless project), the extension of the Iranian State Railway from Qum to Isfahan, Shiraz and Bushire (an utterly impracticable scheme which would cost £20 million) and "the creation of an atmosphere in Fars in which people could pursue their legitimate occupations in peace and security." This alone of the

desiderata is in the realm of practical politics and could be realised speedily and at no cost if the Qashgai and other tribes would only permit it.

Persian Army

9. A purchasing mission of twenty officers, headed by General Abdullah Hidayet, the Deputy Minister for War, is to leave for America shortly. Paragraph 12 of Intelligence Summary No. 4 referred to a credit of 20 million dollars secured from the United States by the Persian Government. The outcome of the dispute between General Grow and the Shah as to the proportion of combat equipment to be purchased is not yet known.

10. General Amanullah Jehanbani has returned from his brief tour of military training establishments in the United Kingdom, France and Belgium.

11. Reference was made in paragraph 3 of Intelligence Summary No. 6 to the allegations made by the Prime Minister against the high-handed actions of the military in Azerbaijan. The Ministry for War, on 18th February, issued a communiqué denying the truth of these allegations and saying that they were the work of malicious persons who were seeking to create disunity between the people and the army. Despite this denial, however, the Minister for War informed the British Military Attaché on 17th February, in strict confidence, that one very serious incident had been reported to him from Ardebil, where Brigadier-General Bayendor, without waiting for the arrival of the military tribunal, had convened a drum-head court-martial and shot eight former Democrat supporters out of hand.

Economic

12. The formation of an Economic Council for Persia in April 1946 was reported in paragraph 9 of Intelligence Summary No. 13 of 1946. Very little was heard of this body or of its deliberations till December 1946, when it announced a seven-year plan for the economic development of Persia. Upon scrutiny, this document turned out to be no plan at all but merely a long-winded statement as to why no such plan had worked in the past, the main reasons being given as the inefficiency and corruption of Government employees and the almost complete lack of liaison between the different Ministries concerned. Subsequently, it became obvious that no such plan could work without considerable

financial assistance from outside, and the question of a loan of 250 million dollars for thirty years from the World Bank was raised. As it was clear that no loan could, or would, be granted without full information as to how the money was to be spent, a technical mission of Americans under the leadership of Mr. Dunn, vice-president of Morrison Knudsen, was engaged. This mission, which, it is rumoured, will be expanded to sixty members, is now busy on a survey of Persia. Their task has been rendered more difficult by the lack of any reliable statistics or, indeed, any statistics at all, relating to Persian economies.

Appointments

13. Lieutenant-Colonel Samii has succeeded Colonel Sarimi as Military Governor of Abadan.

The Court

14. Princess Ashraf has proceeded on a charitable mission to Astara.

15. Princess Shams is to return to Persia shortly accompanied by her husband and son. She was divorced from Feridun Jam, son of Mahmud Jam, Persian Ambassador in Cairo, some four years ago and her subsequent marriage to an obscure and penniless young man of the name of Mimbashian, a grandson of a Cossack bandmaster, so displeased the Shah that she was deprived of her title. Her return, it is rumoured, is at the request of her mother, who disapproves of the publicity hunting, political opinions and behaviour of Princess Ashraf, and fears the influence which she is believed to wield over her twin brother, the Shah, and believes that the firmer character of Princess Shams will offset this influence.

Russian Interests

16. The Press Section of the Soviet Embassy has published a denial of the truth of a statement which appeared in a Tehran newspaper about a fortnight ago. This statement was to the effect that M. Molotov, in an interview with Muzaffar Firuz, the Persian Ambassador in Moscow, had stated that he did not approve of the Deputies so far elected to the 15th Majlis.

American Interests

17. The contracts of the American Military Mission to the Persian Army have been extended for two and a quarter years with effect from 20th December, 1946.

Indian Affairs

18. A Persian delegation, headed by Ali Asghar Hikmat, is leaving shortly for India. It is to study political, cultural and economic questions affecting the two countries and to make suggestions for the improvement of relations in these three spheres. It will, incidentally, represent Persia at the Inter-Asian Relations Conference which has been convened by the Indian Institute of World Affairs. Ali Asghar Hikmat, a former Minister of Education and a prominent scholar and writer, is president of the Persian branch of the Indo-Iranian Cultural Society and headed a cultural mission to India some two years ago.

Appendix

List of Provincial Deputies for the 15th Majlis up to 22nd February, 1947

* signifies Deputy in last Majlis.

Constituency and Name

Arak—

*Izzatullah Bayat.
Hussein Makki.

Resht—

*Hasan Akbar.
*Abul Qasim Amini.

Pahlevi—

Abul Mokarram Mo'tamid Demavandi.

Fumin—

Mohammed Ali Dadvar.

Khamseh, Tavalish—

*Haj Agha Rafii (Qaimmaqam).

Qum—

Misbah Tauliet.

Mahallat—

Shahab Khusravani.

Kashan—

*Ahmad Akhwan.

Rey—

Abbas Taraqqi.

Mushayekhi.

Veramin—

Ashtianizadeh.

Karaj—

Kohbud.

Semnan—

*Jawad Amiri.

Shahrud—

Ghulam Reza Fuladvand.

Constituency and Name

Gurgan—

*Dr. Khalil Falsafi.

Kermanshah—

*Abbas Qubadian.

*Dr. Mo'avin.

Aziz Zanganeh.

Rafat-ul-Sultaneh Palizi.

Malayir—

*Hashim Malik Madani.

*Ismail Zafari (Zafar-us-Saltaneh).

Khurramabad—

Muhammed Ali Keshavarz Sadr.

Muhammed Ali Ghazanfari.

Burujird—

*Abdul Hussein 'Etibar.

Muhammed Sultan-ul-'Ulama.

Gulpayigan—

*Dr. Muazzami.

Dizful—

Amir Hussain Khan Zafar Bakhtiari.

Jahrum—

*Abul Fazl Haziqi.

Kerman—

Dr. Muzaffar Baqai.

Muhandis Seyyid Ahmad Rezavi.

Bam—

*Lutfali Rafii.

Bandar Abbas—

Dr. Misbahzadeh.

Rafzinjan—

Mahdi Mu'inzadeh.

Sirjan—

*Mirat Isfandiari.

Zabul—

Abdullah Wusuq (Motamed-us-Sultaneh).

Meshed—

Salman Assadi.

Mas'ud Sabeti.

*Amir Taimur (Muhammad Ibrahim Khalili).

Yunus Wahabzadeh.

Darajaz—

Hassan Mokarram.

Kashmar—

*Ali Iqbal.

Turbat-i-Haidari—

Jaffar Kafai.

Nishapur—

*Hassan Nabavi.

Quchan—

*Ghulam Hussein Rahimiyan.

Bujnurd—

Ardeshtir Shadlu.

Firdaus—

Mohsin Gunabadi.

Birjand and Kain—

*Muhammed Ali Munsif.

Constituency and Name.

Yezd—
 Abbas Fazili.
 Mohd Hussein Nawab.
 Muhammed Hirati.
 Nain—
 Dr. Taba.

Constituency and Name.

Gunbad-i-Qabus—
 *Muhammad Akhund Jorjani.
 Mekran—
 Arbab Mehdi.
 Qazvin—
 Lahouti.
 Asghar Sahib Jam.

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No. 77

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 8

Period 24th February to 2nd March, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 74 of 4th March; Received 13th March)

Persian Affairs*Political*

1. Though a sufficient number of Deputies have now been elected to form the necessary quorum for convening the new Majlis it is learned from fairly reliable sources in close touch with the Prime Minister that it is unlikely that the Majlis will be convened before the end of April. In conversation with the British Military Attaché the Minister for War gave as a reason that the Cabinet wished first to see the results of the Moscow Conference.

Elections

2. The following additional provincial results have been published in the Persian press:—

Sabzevar: Seyyid Abul Hasan Haerizadeh. Abdul Qadir Azad.
 Khorramshahr: Dr. Abdul Husein Raji.
 Isfahan: Ezaz Nikpey. Habibullah Amin. Safa Imami.
 Demavend cum Firuzkuh: Muhammad Ali Masudi.
 Ahwaz: Abul Qasim Behbehani.
 Dasht-i-Mishan: Seyyid Asadullah Musawi Behbehani.

3. A medical board has been assembled by order of the Prime Minister to examine the health of Seyyid Zia-ud-Din who is still under arrest. Rumours of his ill-health have been circulating for some time.

Internal Security*Azerbaijan*

4. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that thirty-two Armenians and extreme Leftists have been arrested by the police at the former Tudeh head-

quarters on account of subversive activities. Among a further batch of former Democrat supporters sentenced to death was Jawidan, a former Governor of Maragheh.

5. According to General Schwarzkopf's senior assistant, Colonel Goods, who recently returned from a tour of Azerbaijan, the re-establishment of the various Government Departments is not proceeding as fast as it should and he is of the opinion that the initial wave of popular enthusiasm at the return of the province to governmental control is fast subsiding and that, urged on by the whispering campaign started by the Russians, the populace will soon begin to compare the achievements of the two régimes to the disparagement of the present one. Though the above impression has been confirmed from other sources, including His Majesty's Consul-General, it must be remembered that the American advisers know no Persian and can only converse through the medium of interpreters who share the usual oriental weakness for colouring the reply to fit in with what they think the interrogator would wish to hear.

Kurdistan

6. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British military attaché on 2nd March that the Barzanis (see paragraph 3 of last Intelligence Summary) had made very slow progress in their return trek to Iraq and were still in the Ushnu and Naqadeh areas. He attributed this delay to the large number of their sick, to an acute shortage of animal transport, to the deep snow still lying on the passes which they intended to use and to the uncertain outcome of negotiations with the Pushtdari Kurds of Iraq concerning a safe

passage through or, possibly, an asylum in their lands. The Chief of the General Staff denied the truth of newspaper reports of clashes between the Barzanis and the Persian forces. So far, he said, the Barzanis were behaving well and had not interfered in the operations described in the following paragraph.

7. Reference paragraph 4 of last Intelligence Summary the statement that the most northerly column was based on Khoi was an error. It was based on Rezaieh. According to the Chief of the General Staff the disarming operations are directed, so far, solely against one section of the Herki under Zero Beg. The Shakkak to the north are not, so far, involved and their leader, Amar Khan, is in Tehran. The present position of the four columns is as follows:—

No. 1 based on Rezaieh moved to Mawana (J-38 O, B 3862).

No. 2 based on Rezaieh moved after a clash at Qasimlu unidentified is now halted in the Berdeshur defile (J-38 O, B 5050).

No. 3 based on Mahabad has moved to Pasweh (J-38 V, G 8575).

No. 4 based on Sardasht has moved to Qishlaq (J-38 V, G 7548).

No. 1 consists of a regiment of infantry with a mountain battery and two tanks.

No. 2 consists of two battalions of infantry with a mountain battery and two tanks.

No. 3 consists of two battalions of infantry (no tanks).

No. 4 consists of one battalion of infantry with detachments of Kurdish irregulars from the Mamish and Mangur tribes amounting to about 500 men.

The Chief of the General Staff also stated that the total number of rifles so far collected in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan was 40,000.

Fars

8. Nasir Khan Qashga informed the British military attaché at a private meeting that whereas he had found the Prime Minister reasonable and sympathetic over his requests for economic and other reforms in Fars and over the reasons which had led him to start his revolt of last autumn, he had found the Minister for War intractable and disinclined to agree to anything without complete disarmament

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as a necessary preliminary. Nasir Khan showed his usual mistrust of the Shah and of "his army" and predicted gloomily that all these purchases of war material could be for no other purpose than that of waging war against the tribes.

Khuzistan

9. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports that the congestion at the Khorramshahr Customs has reached such a pitch that the Director-General of Customs has been forced, as a temporary measure, to divert all ships cargoes to Bandar Shahpur.

Persian Army

10. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British military attaché that with effect from the Persian New Year of 1326 (21st March, 1947) the following changes in organisation would be introduced:—

(i) The 3rd (Eastern Azerbaijan) Divisional Headquarters would be established in Tabriz with one Brigade headquarters at Tabriz and one at Ardebil.

(ii) The 4th (Western Azerbaijan) Divisional Headquarters would be established in Rezaieh with one brigade at Rezaieh and the other at Mahabad.

(iii) The present 4th (Kurdistan) Division (Headquarters, Sennendaj) will be reduced to the status of a brigade (probably independent).

The boundaries between the 3rd and 4th Divisions (inclusive to 4th Division) will be Maku, Khoi, Rezaieh, Mahabad, Saqqiz, Tikab, Shahin Dezh.

11. The American Ambassador informed His Majesty's Ambassador that the credit for purchase of military equipment (see paragraph 9 of last Intelligence Summary) amounted to some 40 and not 20 million dollars. Approximately 5 million dollars for gendarmerie needs was included in this. 10 million are to be expended on combat equipment, 20 million on clothing, stores and M.T. and 10 million are estimated as necessary for its packing, freight and delivery. The same source reports that the Prime Minister is opposed to the whole scheme as a waste of money which could be spent more profitably on economic development or social services and also because he fears that this added strength will but encourage the Shah and his army

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to a further trial of strength between them and him.

Persian Gendarmerie

12. According to a Tehran radio announcement three Persian gendarmerie officers are to proceed to France to undergo a course of training.

13. General Schwarzkopf informed the British military attaché that recruiting for the Azerbaijan gendarmerie is progressing well. Shortage of accommodation and uniforms is restricting the intake. Many of the recruits are those who were forcibly conscripted into the Azerbaijan People's army by the late Democrat régime. These are being carefully screened to exclude the possible entry of "Fidais" (volunteer members of the Democrat Party who formed the hard core of the movement).

14. The same source also stated that he had, at last, succeeded in establishing disciplinary courts for the gendarmerie independent of the army tribunals and in freeing promotion in the gendarmerie from interference by the army.

Appointments

15.—(i) Sarlashgar Muhammad Husein Firuz (M.A. 94; F.O. 48) to be Inspector-General of the Persian Air Force vice Sarlashgar Ahmed Nakhjewan (M.A. 193; F.O. 114) resigned. For the present Muhammad Husein Firuz will retain his other post as Inspector-General of Arsenals. It is thought that Ahmad Nakhjewan's reason for resigning his appointment may be his increasing interest in the commercial side of civil aviation in Persia.

(ii) Sarlashgar Amanullah Jehanbani to be Inspector-General of the eastern forces vice Muhammad Husein Mirza.

Communications

16. A press report states that the Minister of Roads and Communications has directed his Ministry to prepare projects for the construction of railway lines from Pahlevi via Resht to Bandar Shah to link up with the present northern terminus of the Iranian State Railway and also from Shiraz via Firuzabad to Bushire. In conversation with the British military attaché the Minister of Roads and Communications admitted the truth of this report but said that they were likely to remain more project as he could not foresee whence the necessary money could be procured nor, indeed, was he inclined to think that either of them would be of economic benefit to Persia. He definitely stated that he had secured sufficient money to start work immediately on the completion of the section Mianeh-Tabriz which, not from the magnitude of the task (see paragraph 12 of Intelligence Summary No. 5) but from the limited amount of money available each year, would take three years to complete.

British Interests

17. General Sir Ronald Adam, chairman of the British Council, visited Tehran between 24th and 27th February. Mr. Harries of the W.F.T.U. has arrived in Tehran with a delegation of that body.

Belgian Interests

18. Colonel Victor Biver, Belgian military attaché, has left Tehran on abolition of the appointment. He himself is to retire on pension. He had done good work between 1934 and 1937 as chief of the Belgian mission to the Persian air force.

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No. 78

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 9

Period 3rd March-9th March, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 79 of 12th March; Received 20th March)

Persian Affairs

The Elections

The following further provincial results have come in:—

Lahijan cum Langarud cum Rudsar: Hasan Arsanjani.
Shahr Kurd: Agha Khan Bakhtiar.

Zenjan: Muhammad Zulfiqari,* Nasir Zulfiqari, Ibrahim Afkhami.*

Owing to the Prime Minister's refusal to accept election the twelfth Tehran seat now goes to Dr. Rezazadeh Shafaq.*

Note.—* signifies member of the 14th Majlis.

Internal Security

Kurdistan

2. According to information given to the British Military Attaché by the Chief of the General Staff on 8th March, the disarming operations against the branch of the Herki under Zero Beg are temporarily delayed by the presence of the Barzanis on the Morgawar Plain (see paragraph below). The Persian Army columns are now located as follows:—

- (i) Baranduz Chai: J-38 O-B 5437.
- (ii) Sangar: J-38 P-B 6742.
- (iii) Khanliar: J-38 P-B 7003 (to join column (ii)).
- (iv) Jildian: J-38 V-G 6883 (to move to Ushnuiyeh).
- (v) Khaneh: J-38 V-G 6663 (a stationary garrison).

These columns have, thus, a dual rôle, firstly to prevent the Barzanis doubling on their tracks or heading in any direction other than the one in which they are now going and, secondly, of containing the Herki until the departure of the Barzanis will permit of the resumption of the operations without risk of the Barzanis or other Persian Kurdish tribes (e.g., the Shakkak or Jalali) from joining in the fray.

3. According to the Chief of the General Staff the main body of the Barzanis has now reached the Mergawar Plain (about 50 miles in length running, roughly, north and south midway between the Turco-Persian frontier and Lake Urumiyeh). From the direction of their movement and from sundry other reports the Chief of the General Staff thinks that they intend to cross the frontier into Turkey first before making for Iraq and he stated that this was the route they had followed when they entered Persia nearly three years ago after their defeat at the hands of the Iraqi Army. In the opinion of the Chief of the General Staff another month will elapse before the snow on the high passes will melt sufficiently to let them cross.

Mazanderan

4. Military government has been lifted from Chalus, Shahi and Sari.

Bakhtiari

5. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 8th March that a band of Abul Qasim's men had recently attacked the village of Katwand near Sari-Dasht, about 30 miles north-east of Dizful. The G.O.C. Khuzistan Division had been instructed to send

out a column to drive off the robbers. The Chief of the General Staff sharply criticised the Government's policy in appointing as Governor of Bakhtiari such a rogue as Abul Qasim and Muzaffar Firuz, in particular, for having procured, against the advice of the General Staff, a gift of 1,000 rifles for this unprincipled adventurer.

Kerman

6. His Majesty's Consul at Kerman, while returning from Yazd by road, was held up by armed highwaymen near Rafsinjan on 28th February and robbed of his personal belongings.

Khuzistan

7. On 27th February two employees of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and a British journalist (Richard Wyndham, of the *News of the World*) were held up by tribal robbers near Gach Saran and relieved of their money, clothes and bedding. They were subsequently allowed to proceed in their car to Gach Saran. The assailants are believed to be Boir Ahmedis.

The Persian Army

8. Paragraph 16 of Intelligence Summary No. 2 of 1946 mentioned the setting up of a military court to try Brigadier-General Darakhshani, who was commanding the Tabriz garrison at the time of its surrender to the Azerbaijan rebels in November 1945. No trial actually took place. The press now reports the convening of a fresh court for the same purpose.

9. There are some welcome signs that the American military mission, under Brigadier-General Grow, is extending its activities beyond the very limited scope which General Ridley had laid down. On the invitation of the Chief of the General Staff a course of lectures at the Staff College is to be given by American officers. At the suggestion of the Minister for War the mission is interesting itself in Persian military finance. In this field of enquiry it should not have a dull moment.

10. About a month ago three German prisoners of war escaped from a camp in the Caucasus and, having crossed the Aras River and the Moghan steppe, arrived at Ardebil where they surrendered to the Persian military forces. Soon after their arrival at Ardebil the Russian frontier authorities notified the Persian frontier gendarmerie of their escape, but no formal demand was made for their extradition either by the frontier authorities or in

Tehran. They were interrogated by the Persian General Staff and subsequently, by the courtesy of the Chief of the General Staff by the American and British Military Attachés. The Chief of the General Staff states that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has decided to set them at liberty.

The Court

11. In paragraph 5 of Intelligence Summary No. 5, current reference was made to press articles on the subject of the re-interment of Reza Shah's remains in Persia. According to the Minister for War, the question has been under discussion in the Cabinet more or less ever since. The Prime Minister, from the outset, was opposed to the plan, saying that the return of the body would arouse much latent opposition to the dynasty. High words had passed between the Prime Minister and the Shah, who said that this was an insult to his dead father which he could not brook. Several complications have arisen. According to a Shi'ah custom a body which has been buried in a non-Shi'ah country should, if brought back to Persia for re-interment, lie in the precincts of an Imamzadeh. Meshed, the shrine of the eighth Imam, was turned down as soon as mooted by the Shah on the score that the ullema of that place would certainly refuse burial to the body of a man who had machine-gunned the shrine in 1936. Qum, the shrine of Fatima, the eighth Imam's sister, was opposed on the grounds that Reza Shah had insulted the custodians by entering the shrine with his boots on and by clubbing to death a mullah who had upbraided the Queen for removing her veil. Yet a further difficulty is said to lie in the attitude of the Egyptian Government, who, piqued by the Shah's failure to regularise his matrimonial affairs with Queen Fauzieh, have refused to provide fitting reception and ceremonies for the mission which was to come to Egypt to remove the body.

Labour

12. The following paragraph has been contributed by the Labour Attaché to His Majesty's Embassy:—

"The Tudeh trade union movement, which, twelve months ago, claimed 300,000 members, held a monopoly position as representing workers, intimidated employers and forced the Government into granting concessions, is now a very dim

shadow of its former self. The Government, which had been waiting an opportunity to attack the political and anti-national activities of the Tudeh Party, used the successful conclusion of the Azerbaijan campaign as the occasion for organising trade unions under the ægis of the Prime Minister's Democrat Party. There was continuous friction, with incidents of physical violence, between the members of the two rival trade unions, and throughout the country there were allegations by the Tudeh unions that their premises and clubs had been invaded and seized by the Democrat union.

In November 1946 the Central Committee of the Tudeh trade unions, which had previously obtained recognition by the W.F.T.U., sent a telegram to the W.F.T.U. complaining of victimisation of members and suspension of the right of free association. Request was made for a delegation from the W.F.T.U. to visit Persia to investigate conditions. The Persian Government at first strongly opposed the request, but subsequently decided to welcome a delegation and grant it full facilities. Messrs. Borisoff (Russian), Malfettes (French) and Harries (British) arrived on 25th February and were given a warm welcome by the Government. El Aris (Syrian), leader of the delegation, should have arrived the same day but failed to arrive. It is rumoured that he has been unable to obtain a transit visa for Iraq. A few days before the delegation arrived, workers who claimed that they were members of the reformed Tudeh Union (see paragraph 2 of Intelligence Summary No. 2 of 12th January, 1947) invaded the union's headquarters in Tehran and elected a new executive committee to exclude Reza Rusta and others whose sympathies were clearly extreme left and who had laid themselves open to charges of embezzling the party's funds.

The delegation has commenced work, interviewing representatives of the rival trade unions and visiting factories. Rusta has been in close association with Borisoff and has produced lengthy verbal and written statements to show the oppressive action of the Government. It was proposed that the delegation should leave Tehran on 8th March to visit Abadan and other industrial centres in the country, but Borisoff at the last moment refused to agree to the programme on the grounds that he had spoken to Moscow by telephone and

received instructions from the leader of the Russian trade union movement to the effect that El Aris would shortly arrive in Tehran and no further action had to be taken in the meantime. This is the culminating point in what Harries feels is a deliberate delaying action. It had already become apparent that Borisoff was unwilling to express views on the delegation's work, interviews which had been held or the proposed programme, until after he had paid his daily visit (on the plea of medical treatment) to the Russian Embassy. The longer the delegation remains in Tehran the stronger becomes Rusta's position, and it is the strong conviction of Harries that Rusta and Borisoff spend much time in discussions together at the Russian Embassy.

The Government's position in the investigation has been somewhat strengthened by the fact that trade union regulations permitting the full and free association of workers and giving trade unions a status

in law were approved by the Council of Ministers on 3rd March.

Note by the British Military Attaché

From the above no false deduction should be made to the effect that the Tudeh Party, either in its original or reformed state, is dead. It is working actively underground in Abadan and in Tehran it is biding its time hoping, not unreasonably, that the general dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs will pave the way for its return. A deterioration in security, the continued high cost of living, the Government's apathy in measures of economic, educational and health reform, the increasing unemployment, the Prime Minister's conduct of the elections, the universal corruption practised by a horde of unnecessary officials (either from a natural bent for peculation or from inadequacy of their emoluments) are all grist to the Tudeh mill.

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No. 79

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 10

Period 10th-17th March, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 89 of 18th March; Received 27th March)

Persian Affairs

Political

There has been very little news to chronicle during the past week, and to an observer who were to cast a superficial glance at Persia it might well appear that seldom of recent years has the country been in such a tranquil state. Such an observer might adduce in proof that the elections, save in Azerbaijan, Fars and a few other constituencies, have been completed without disorder, and have resulted in an overwhelming and seemingly popular victory for the party led by the Prime Minister. The Tudeh Party is in eclipse. The Russians appear to be behaving well and waiting with exemplary patience for the convening of the Majlis to learn the fate of their oil concession Bill. The Persian tribes are quiet. Those uninvited and turbulent guests, the Barzanis, are in process of leaving. Disarmament operations in Kurdistan are progressing, if slowly. The papers are full of the enthusiasm with which the Azerbaijanis have acclaimed the resumption of authority

by the Central Government. The press is equally full of references to sound labour legislation enacted by an enlightened and humane Government. Prospects of securing a large development loan from the World Bank are still bright. The army, ably commanded by its popular chief, the Shah, is outwardly in fine fettle and about to augment its equipment to the tune of 7 million pounds from an American credit. Except for the Soviet oil concession, there seems to be no major problem confronting Persia in her relations either with the Great Powers or with her neighbours, except, perhaps, with Egypt over which the Shah's matrimonial relations with his Queen have cast a temporary cloud. If the same observer, however, were to put his ear to the ground he might detect some subterranean rumblings which indicate a general dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs. The cost of living is inordinately high, and for no valid economic reason. A handful of notorious racketeers are rapidly enriching themselves while the rest of the population are, according to their class, environment and

opportunities, either starving, taking to a life of crime, peculating on a scale hitherto unknown even in Persia, living on their capital or, having realised their immovable property, leaving the country. The sweeping success of the Prime Minister's party at the polls may yet turn out to be a Pyrrhic victory, since, firstly, by insisting on an absolute majority and by excluding totally any representation by any other party he has needlessly antagonised a great many people, and, secondly, not even such an astute politician as he is can hope to maintain for long, in a state of discipline and cohesion a heterogeneous band of egoistic and dissident adventurers, who care not under whose banner they enter the Majlis as long as they get inside. The Tudeh are by no means dead, and the inefficiency and corruption of the Administration will provide them with ample ammunition for their future activities. In the army, behind its tinsel and bunting, there are cross-currents of mistrust which are eating away the foundations of discipline. The Shah mistrusts the Minister of War. The Minister of War mistrusts the Chief of the General Staff. The Shah's military adviser, General Yazdanpanah, mistrusts both. The tribes present a major problem which the Government not only has not tried to solve but which it seems to ignore. Disarmament is only one step in this direction, and even this is likely to be only in token form. In Azerbaijan, as has been mentioned previously, the Government's slowness in re-erecting the administrative machine is arousing adverse criticism from the inhabitants, who have already begun to compare the present régime to the recent one. Some labour legislation has been enacted, but, here too, according to popular belief, the Government is trying to gain control of the trade union movement by bringing it under the influence of its own Iran Democrat Party. In the domain of public health and education little constructive work is being done. The Government seems loath to decentralise and to entrust any real authority for local government to the provincial councils, a sure sign of its lack of confidence in its own strength. Finally, an ominous sign, the Government is hypersensitive to criticism in the Persian or foreign press. There is no need to take an alarmist view of the situation, but to many it appears that Qawam-us-Saltaneh has screwed down the safety valve and is sitting on it.

The Elections

2. The following further provincial results have come in:—

Bijar and Garrus: Aurang.

Lar (Fars): Faramaizi (editor of *Kaihan*).

3. In Azerbaijan the elections are to take place between the 19th and 25th March. It is believed that the Shah and the Prime Minister have agreed to allow the elections to be free, and that Ali Mansur, the Governor-General, persuaded them to this course believing that local men of standing and influence would best serve the interests of the province.

4. For Fars it is believed that Nasir Khan Qashgai, during his recent visit, arranged with the Prime Minister for the election of himself and one of his brothers, probably Malik Mansur.

Labour

5. On 22nd February the Persian Government passed a decree preventing the dismissal of surplus workers from any factory without the prior sanction of the Ministry of Labour. (The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company are excepted from this law.) Many factories, notably the Isfahan mills, have always been badly organised and now, for the first time, faced with competition from imported fabrics, are casting about for possible economies by the exercise of which the owners can still make the 100 per cent. profit regarded as a beggarly minimum by the average Persian business man. During the reign of terror of the Tudeh Party these owners were intimidated into taking on to their payroll a large amount of extra labour. These surplus hands they are now trying to discharge. Qawam's Government, mindful of the weak foundation of temporary popularity on which they rest, do not wish for any aggravation of the unemployment problem with a resultant clamour for strong and immediate action by them to solve it. Hence the recent enactment.

Internal Security

Fars

6. As the result of a conference attended by the Prime Minister, Minister of War, Chief of the General Staff, Governor-General of Fars and Nasir Qashgai in Tehran it has been decided, according to Tehran radio, that the Qashgai will surrender one-third of the rifles in their

possession when the tribe leaves for its summer quarters, and one-third when they start the downward migration to their winter quarters. The remaining third will be retained for the present provided that licences for these arms are obtained from the Government. This arrangement, in respect of the proportion to be retained, follows the agreement reached, according to the Chief of the General Staff, with the Kurds.

Azerbaijan

7. His Majesty's Consul-General reports that rumours are current in Tabriz to the effect that a large number of Caucasian immigrants have entered Azerbaijan surreptitiously. These rumours have been repeated in the Tehran press during the past week. His Majesty's Consul-General can find no evidence of their truth, and thinks that they may have been put about in order to create unrest and anxiety.

Kurdistan

8. The Chief of the General Staff informed the Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires on 15th March that the main body of the Barzanis had now reached the village of Binar (J-38 O, B 3923) which is situated about five miles north-east of the junction of the Turkish, Iraqi and Persian frontiers. On 17th March the Minister of War, in the presence of the Chief of the General Staff, informed the British Military Attaché that on 15th and 16th March, on the Tergawar plain (an extension northwards of the Mergawar plain), the Barzanis had turned upon the four Persian army columns to their north, north-east, east and south (see paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary) and had started fighting. The Persian army's casualties had, so far, amounted to an officer and six other ranks killed. The Barzanis, it was believed, had suffered more severely. Asked why the Barzanis had turned upon the Persian Government's forces, the Minister of War replied that the latest information in his possession showed that the Barzanis regarded themselves as hunted fugitives against whom their own country, Iraq, had closed its gates, and that in desperation they had got into touch with the Russians some weeks ago through the Horki and Shakkak Kurds. In the Minister of War's opinion they must have changed their course and decided to make for Russia, and, finding their way through the Rezaieh

plain blocked by the Persian Government's troops, they had attacked them.

Bakhtiari

9. His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz reports that Abul Qasim Bakhtiari has sent an impertinent letter to the Governor-General which moved the latter to complain to Tehran of Abul Qasim's insubordination. Abul Qasim was summoned to Tehran, or, as the Persian press described it, has arrived in the capital for discussions with the Prime Minister. Despite the suspicions entertained of him by the General Staff and the detestation in which he is held by all the Bakhtiari Khans of both branches of the tribe, this rascal seems to enjoy the confidence of Qawam-us-Saltaneh.

The Persian Army

10. The Minister of War informed the British Military Attaché on 17th March that the amount of the American credit had not yet been finally decided, but that it was hoped to fix it at 33 million dollars (see paragraph 11 of Intelligence Summary No. 8). If this sum were procured 10 million would be allotted for combat material and 10 million for non-combat equipment. Eight million were necessary for freight, packing and insurance. The remaining 5 million would be allotted to the gendarmerie. The purchasing mission is not proceeding at once but will await the final fixing of the sum. General Abdullah Hidayet, accompanied by another Persian officer and a member of the American military mission, were leaving at once to complete the negotiations. According to the Minister of War, if the money was forthcoming in the form of an interest-bearing loan, it could only be procured by Majlis sanction. Fearing hostile criticism of increased army expenditure (with every justification it may be added!), the army was reluctant to go to the Majlis and hence the negotiations for a credit instead of a loan. The Persian Ambassador in Washington had been unable to secure American acceptance of the terms under which the Persian Government proposed to pay, but it was hoped that General Hidayet would conclude a satisfactory bargain.

11. The military tribunal convened to try Persian army officers charged with dereliction of duty at the time of the surrender of the Kazerun garrison in 1946 has acquitted all except a Colonel Yamani, who

has been sentenced to imprisonment for life.

12. General Hasan Arfa, the late Chief of the General Staff, has retired.

The Persian Gendarmerie

13. The growing tension between the army and the gendarmerie has been mentioned more than once in these Intelligence Summaries. The American State Department's reluctance to supply large quantities of combat material to both forces has also been reported. The Persian Minister of Finance has now entered the fray by stating, in the plainest of language, that Persia neither requires nor can afford the luxury of two armies, and that their respective budgets, of approximately 12 and 6 million pounds, apart from supplementary credits, loans and other subterfuges for obtaining more money, are an excessive price to pay for the very inadequate degree of security which they at present provide. The immediate result of this protest, according to the Minister of War, has been the appointment of a commission, under the presidency of the Prime Minister, to examine the whole question. The Minister of War, the Chief of the General Staff and Brigadier-General Grow persuaded the Prime Minister to reduce the gendarmerie from its present strength of 23,000 to 15,000 by taking over the frontiers as an army responsibility (to include preventive services), and by relegating the gendarmerie to road protection duties in the interior. General Schwarzkopf, who was planning for a total gendarmerie strength of 30,000, and who had ambitious plans for the creation of a truly national police force, agreed to this reduction, according to the Minister of War, with ill grace.

Appointments

"A" Civil

14. On the recommendation of the Prime Minister, Ezaz Nikpay, former Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones and newly-elected Deputy for Isfahan, has been re-appointed to that Ministry.

"B" Gendarmerie

(i) Sarhang Jalal Zamam from O.C. Khorasan Regiment to Gendarmerie H.Q.

(ii) Sarhang Jawad Mir-Fendereski to be O.C. Khorasan Regiment.

(iii) Sarhang Amir Parvizi to be O.C. Isfahan Regiment.

(iv) Sarhang Nurbaksh to be O.C. Tabriz Regiment.

(v) Sarhang Baluch Khosrovi to be O.C. Ardebil Regiment vice Sarhang Shafaqi relieved.

"C" Military

(i) Colonel Hejazi, who is to be promoted to Sartip at the (Persian) New Year, is to relieve Sartip Qadar as G.O.C. Kerman. The latter's speculation has recently been the subject of complaint by the Governor-General of that province.

(ii) Sarhang Batmangalij has relieved Sartip Nusratullah Bayendor as brigade commander at Ardebil. The latter is now under arrest in Tehran in respect of the charges of putting Democrats to death without trial (see paragraph 11 of Intelligence Summary, No. 7, dated 23rd February, 1947).

Topographical

15.—(i) Belated confirmation of the change of name of Mishkin-Shahr (J-38 L, Y 8956) has appeared in the Government Gazette.

(ii) The same source reports the change of Azar Shahr (J-38 P, C 4282) to Dehkhwarqan.

French Interests

16. According to His Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad a party of four Frenchmen, two self-styled members of the "International Student Service" and two journalists, recently entered Iraq in British military transport without completing the necessary formalities at the frontier. While in Iraq they appear to have contracted extreme Left-wing elements. The Iraqi Government has ordered them to leave the country. They state they are bound for Persia and Afghanistan, and left Bagdad for Kermanshah on 13th March.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 11

Period 18th-23rd March, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 96 of 26th March; Received 2nd April)

Persian Affairs

Political

As is usual, the Persian end of the telegraph has gone dead for the week of the New Year holidays and, in consequence, there is little of interest to report. There are rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet. According to the supporters of the dissidents it is a split between the "reactionary" party headed by the Prime Minister and the "progressive" elements including the Ministers of Finance and Justice. Cynical comment inclines to the view that the quarrel is merely one among thieves over the division of the booty.

The Elections

2. The only result announced during the past week was the election of Arbab Rustam Giv to represent the Zoroastrians. He represented the community in the last Majlis.

3. Seyyid Zia-ud-din Tabatabai has been permitted to live in his own house under surveillance in order to undergo medical treatment. He has been ailing for some time.

4. The usual levee was held in the Gulistan Palace on 22nd March on the occasion of the Persian New Year.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

5. Reference paragraph 7 of last Intelligence Summary an officer of the Persian General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 21st March that the rumours of the arrival of Caucasian immigrants into Azerbaijan are not entirely devoid of truth. About 150 have entered Persia during the past ten days by the Julfa frontier. They were in possession of either Persian or Russian passports with visas given by the Persian Consul at Baku which are suspected of being forgeries, since that official, when asked why he had issued so many visas, replied to the effect that the number he had granted was normal. These immigrants are suspected of being recent supporters of the Azerbaijan Democrat régime, who fled to Russia on its collapse

and have now returned disillusioned by their treatment at the hands of their former supporters. They are being sent to Tehran and, after screening, will be despatched to the southern and eastern parts of Persia. They appear to be penniless, ill-clad and half-starved.

Kurdistan

6. The situation, as given to the British Military Attaché by the Persian Chief of the General Staff on 21st March, was as follows:—

The most northerly of the Persian army columns heard that the Barzanis were still heading northwards from the Tergawar plain, i.e., further and further from the Perso-Iraqi or Perso-Turkish frontiers. They also received confirmation that the Barzanis had been in touch with the Russians both through the Russian Consulate-General in Tabriz and through the Herki and Shakkak Kurds. It was a probability, therefore, that they had changed their minds and were now making for the Russian frontier. To prevent this and also any junction between them and the Kurds of the Salmas, Khoi and Maku areas, this column moved from Rezaieh via the Nazlu Chai to Mawana (J-38 O, B 3862) where, on 16th March, it encountered the Barzanis. A stiff skirmish ensued in which both sides lost about fifty killed and wounded. The Barzanis appear to have had, and made use of, three 76-mm. Abukoff mountain guns, the origin of which is still in doubt since the Persians say they are not theirs but the Iraqis', while the latter deny having mountain guns of this type. The Barzanis retreated to Silwana (J-38 O, B 4245). Another Persian column is moving from Rezaieh westwards along the Berdesur Chai, in order to effect a junction with the Mawana column also moving south. When these join it is hoped to push the Barzanis further south to the Ushnuyieh area (J-38 P, B 6402). A third column had, on 16th March, reached Jafrian on the Baranduz Chai (J-38 P, B 5840) and will join the other two. On the same day on which the Mawana skirmish took place another group of the Barzanis, sallying out

of Ushnuyieh, which important town was in their hands, attacked violently a small force of Mangur and Mamish tribes which had volunteered for service with the Government troops. This affair took place at Sufian (J-38 V, G 6988). This party of the Barzanis also was in possession of three 75-mm. Bofors mountain guns captured in 1945 from the Persian army. Casualties in this engagement are also said to number about fifty on each side. On 22nd March the Chief of the General Staff said that further fighting had occurred in both the northern and southern sectors. The nearest Persian army columns in the southern sector are at Kerna (J-38 V, G 8389) and Khaneh (J-38 V, G 6663). The Persian General Staff suggested that an Iraqi officer with a W/T set be sent as a liaison officer to the Persian forces—a vital step if collaboration in frontier control is ever to be achieved between the two countries, and a step which the British Military Attaché has been urging on the Persian General Staff for some years. The offer was accepted but the Persians failed to keep the appointment at the rendezvous.

Gilan

7. His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Resht gives the following account of increasing Russian pressure in his area:—

"Recent Russian pressure on the Governor-General, Aghai Ansari, has led him to take the following steps calculated to curry favour with them:—

"(i) Colonel Pahlevan-Nejad, who is an energetic and forthright officer, has been removed from his post as Military Governor of Bandar Pahlevi, where he had gone a long way towards effacing traces of Tudeh influence. Ansari intends to replace Pahlevan-Nejad by Gholam Hossein Sami'i, who will be a mere stooge under his order.

"(ii) Aghai Mihan, who was the competent and impartial Governor of Resht, has been sent to Tehran, and, although the Governor-General asserts that he will return, there is a strong rumour that he has, in fact, been dismissed.

"(iii) Ahmad Divsalar, a harmless old man who held the post of 'Inspector' in the Governor-General's office, has been replaced by the unscrupulous and pro-Russian

Morandes Simorgh, who is now interfering actively in the work of all Government Departments, including the municipality."

"Two important posts are already held by men who owe their appointment to Russian influence and the support of the Governor-General. Consequently they obey him implicitly. These are Colonel Ghaffari, chief of police, who is particularly intimate with Ansari, who relies on Ghaffari's informers to spy on the activities of the heads of other departments, and Aghai Dehesh, head of the Education Department, who is well known as a former Tudeh member and who has proved singularly unco-operative in all matters on which this consulate has found occasion to have dealings with him.

"All these facts point to the conclusion that the Russians, now that their direct influence through the Tudeh party has been broken, are working hard to regain lost ground by indirect pressure. Ansari appears to be a mere tool in their hands, and his arbitrary actions and intrigues have made him unpopular with all who are not his instruments."

Persian Army

8. Lieut.-Colonel Mazahari, not to be confused with a Colonel Mazaheri now commanding at Khoi, has been convicted by a military tribunal at Tabriz of embezzlement and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and dismissal from the service.

9. The Persian New Year promotions have just been announced. These include ten new sarlashgars (divisional general) and twenty-three new sartips (brigadier). In addition, according to a press report, the following promotions have been made in the lower ranks:—

Rank	Number proposed	Number approved
3rd Lt. to 2nd Lt.	387	284
2nd Lt. to 1st Lt.	557	458
1st Lt. to Captain	578	456
Captain to Major	603	285
Major to Lt.-Col.	110	67
Lt.-Col. to Colonel	137	53

A full list of senior promotions will be given in next week's summary.

Appointments

10. Sartip Khosropanah to be chief of the gendarmerie. He has been officiating in this appointment for nearly a year. In

practice he has little authority as General Schwarzkopf retains the power in his own hands and has direct access to the Prime Minister over all important matters.

Russian Interests

11. M. Sagoff, the Russian Vice-Consul at Isfahan informed His Britannic Majesty's Consul there that M. Nikatine, the consul, had been transferred to another post in North Persia.

12. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has announced the closing of the Russian consulates at Sari and Shiraz. (The closing of the latter post has already been reported in these summaries.)

French Interests

13. An assistant French military attaché has been appointed. His name is Captain du Cos de Saint Barthélemy.

Indian Interests

14. The Indian Government Trade Delegation, headed by Mr. Abul Hassan Ispahani of Messrs. M. M. Ispahani, (Limited), Calcutta, arrived in Tehran on 20th March. The members of the delegation are:—

Mr. Haridas Laljee, secretary, Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, Karachi.

Mr. Hajee Dawood Bhoy Habib, of Messrs. Habib and Sons, Bombay.

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No. 81

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 12

Period 24th-30th March, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 107 of 2nd April; Received 12th April)

Persian Affairs

Political

On the occasion of the Persian New Year (22nd March) both the Shah and the Prime Minister broadcast to the people of the country. The Shah's speech was brief and followed the conventional pattern of exhortation to effort. That of the Prime Minister, on the other hand, lasted two hours and outlined a seven-year plan designed to effect the total regeneration of Persia. The plan was worked out in considerable detail and covered every aspect of the life of the country. Total estimated

Mr. Chincobhai C. Javeri, secretary, All India Exporters' Association, Bombay.

Mr. Ebrahim Yousuf Zainal Alireza, a leading Arab merchant of Bombay, is accompanying the delegation as adviser.

Mr. M. Ayub, M.B.E., I.C.S., private secretary to the honourable the Commerce Member in the Interim Government of India, is the secretary of the delegation, and Mr. Mohd. Jamaluddin Abdul Wahab (Member, Legislative Assembly, United Provinces), private secretary to the leader. The delegation is expected to stay in Persia for about a fortnight, and hopes to visit important centres of trade, such as Isfahan and Meshed. The aim of the delegation is to make a brief survey of the trade conditions prevailing in Persia and other countries of the Middle East, with special reference to trade with India, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship that exist between India and other countries.

The Court

15. H.R.H. Princess Shams Pahlevi has returned to Tehran (see paragraph 15 of Intelligence Summary No. 7).

Labour

16. El Aris, the head of the W.F.T.U. delegation to Persia, has at last arrived. The British member, Mr. Harries, punningly dubbed "El Harries" by the Persians, impatient of the delay, has gone off on his own to see the oilfields and Isfahan.

expenditure involved is nearly 60,000 million rials, i.e., about £450 million or the equivalent of some 14 years annual ordinary revenue on the present basis. Some of the major items are as follows:—

	Million rials
Health Services	17,305
Education	11,500
Railways	6,905
Army and Security Services	6,000
Housing	5,130
Industry	3,505
Irrigation	3,300

The Prime Minister said that heavy as the cost of his plan was, it was the minimum needed to ensure to this country her rightful place among the nations. All the money required could not be expected to come from foreign sources. Indeed, the larger part of it should come from the national capital. It was the duty of everyone to help. There was no reference to the much discussed request for a loan from the International Bank or to any other foreign loan, nor was any specific amount mentioned. The broadcast ended with a few anodyne general remarks on foreign and domestic policy in which the Prime Minister emphasised his determination to resist all forms of interference from without and to enforce an honest and vigorous policy at home.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

2. The elections have started, but His Britannic Majesty's Consul reports that the populace are displaying little active interest as they generally are disgusted at the way in which votes are being purchased.

3. The Chaldean Catholic Archbishop of Urumieh has expressed his apprehension in regard to the welfare of Christians of all sects in Western Azerbaijan, who are being persecuted by the Muslim population, he says, as a consequence of the former association of certain members of the community with the Azerbaijan Democrats. The Divisional Commander, on being approached about the matter, said that he had heard nothing of it and undertook to wire his colleague in the area asking him to stop without delay any direct action by Muslims against Christians. It has been difficult to ascertain how accurate is the complaint of the Archbishop or how much it may be exaggerated.

4. Reference paragraph 11 of last week's Intelligence Summary. Local authorities have ordered the immigrants to prepare to move to Tehran prior to dispersal in southern areas of the country, and estimate that about 4,000 people are affected by this order. The immigrants protested to the Russian Consul-General, who informed them that, as they were Persian subjects, the matter was no concern of his.

Kurdistan

5. The situation, as given to the Assistant British Military Attaché on 29th March by the Persian Chief of the General

Staff, was as follows (reference $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch maps J-38, O.P.U.V.):—

(a) In the northern sector, after counter-attacking in the earlier part of the week, the Barzanis have been driven further south from Silvana (B 4245) through the Mergawa plain. The three Persian columns advancing through Mawana (B 3862), down the Berdeshur Chai and through Jafrian (B 5840) have now joined up as planned. A semi-continuous front is now as follows: from Razga (B 4535) through Nergi (B 4835) in the Mergawar plain to Mamkan (B 5436) and the general area of square B 63. This northern column is under the command of Sartip Faramarz Aslani.

(b) In the southern sector, the columns based on Naqadeh (G 9094) under the command of Sartip Nadir Quli Beglari are operating as follows: Positions have been established at the northern end of the flank at Nanas (B 7919) and point 7064 (B 7822). On the 29th itself units operating westwards from Haidarabad (B 90) were attacking the hill feature point 7756 (B 7711) to point 7605 (B 7606). On the 28th another column, moving along the Naqadeh-Ushnuiyeh road, had driven the Barzanis out of the area of ring contour 5361 (G 7999). On the extreme south the columns based on Kerna (G 8389) and Khaneh (G 6663) have occupied Shilla Darreh (G 7593), Jildian (G 6884) and Sufian (G 6988).

(c) In these operations troops have been receiving close support from Hind aircraft operating from a temporary strip cleared for the purpose at Rezaiyeh, and this is said to have had a great effect on the morale of the Barzanis.

(d) The Chief of the General Staff said that operations are progressing satisfactorily, but that, owing to the difficult nature of the country and to the necessity of adequate consolidation, he did not expect operations to be concluded for at least a month. The Barzanis are being hard pressed, he said, and the advances of the army had robbed them of their main sources of supply. The main object of the operations was now to drive them out of the country by the Gedar Chai (B 5300) and thence over the Berde Buk Pass into Iraq. With this aim in view the commander of the southern sector had orders not to close this route to them. At least one gun that is in the possession of the Barzanis has been knocked out, but their artillery is still giving trouble as it is

under the direction of Major Izzat Aziz, an Iraqi artillery officer of Kurdish descent who has joined the tribes. Quoting figures, the Chief of the General Staff stated that the losses to date had been, among Persian troops, 5 officers and 30 other ranks killed, and, among the Barzanis, about 100 killed.

Fars

6. It is learned from His Britannic Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, that Naser Khan Qashgai, who recently visited Tehran, has received a gift of 5 million rials from the Shah for "agricultural development" in Abadeh and Firuzabad.

7. Fathullah Khan Hayat Daud has also visited Tehran and appears satisfied with the results of his meetings with the Shah and military and civil leaders. However, he appears to have fallen out with Naser Khan, for he told His Britannic Majesty's Consul that Naser had betrayed the true interests of Fars and the Qashgai to the Prime Minister in order to buy his own protection against the army. He also expressed doubts of Naser's ability to get back from his own tribesmen the arms promised for return to the army. The Chief of the General Staff, in conversation with the Assistant British Military Attaché, expressed his awareness of the fact that little reliance could be placed on the promises of Naser and said that the army were ready to take strong action if he failed to keep his word. He further stated that full plans had been made for the re-establishment of the military garrisons lost during the Qashgai revolt.

Bakhtiari

8. Reference paragraph 9 of Intelligence Summary No. 10, dated 10th March. Abul Qasim had completed his discussions in Tehran by 22nd March and had returned to the south. Agha Khan Bakhtiari, his cousin and the new Deputy for Shahreza, stated that Abul Qasim had successfully dealt with complaints made against him and that he had once more ingratiated himself with the Prime Minister and the Chief of the General Staff. He has endeavoured to do the same with His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, Ahwaz, whom he made a victim of his nefarious intrigues with Muzaffar Firuz (see Intelligence Summary No. 37, dated 22nd September, 1946). Meanwhile, the Government appointed "Kalantars" of the tribe are complaining of Abul Qasim's oppression

and demanding his removal. He is expected to return to Tehran in about two weeks' time.

The Persian Army

9. A list of the officers promoted to the ranks of Sartip and Sarlashgar is given as an appendix to this summary. In addition to these promotions the following retired officers have been recalled to the active list:—

Sipahbud Muhammad Shahbakhti (M.A.

38/262; F.O. 46/159).

Sarlashgar Ahmad Agha Muini (M.A.

38/174; F.O. 44/140).

Sarlashgar Iraj Matbui (M.A. 38/167).

For the appointments they assume see paragraph 13.

10. The Chief of the General Staff visited the area of the Barzani operations during the week. On his return he stated that the purpose of his visit had been to ascertain how far morale had been affected by the casualties incurred to date. He said that he found it high and he was most satisfied that officers and men were getting the battle experience which they needed in order to make them more proficient in their profession.

The Persian Police

11. A series of decorations for the Police Force have been instituted and a long list of first recipients of awards at the Persian New Year (22nd March) has been announced. The decorations are as follows:—

(a) The Order of Splendour (Nishan-i-Darakhsh), 3 classes, awarded to officers of the police in recognition of distinguished services rendered to the force.

(b) The Police Order (Nishan-i-Pas), 3 classes, awarded to officers of the police for meritorious service and also to civilians who render outstanding assistance to the police in the execution of their duty.

(c) The Police Medal (Medal-i-Pas), as for (b) but awarded to other ranks of the police.

(d) The Medal of Endeavour (Medal-i-Talash), 3 classes, awarded in recognition of exemplary service to other ranks of the police.

(e) Retired officers badge (Nishan-i-Baz-nishastigi). Awarded on retirement to all officers for wear on the lapel of civilian clothes. The wearing of it is not obligatory.

12. Three police colonels have been promoted to the rank of brigadier. It is understood that the Shah at first refused to sanction these promotions on the grounds that the Police Force only required one brigadier, but that he was afterwards over-persuaded by the Prime Minister and others. There are now five brigadiers in the force.

Appointments: Military

13. (a) Sartip Abdul Husain Hejazi to be commander of the 7th (Kerman) Division *vice* Sartip Ghulam Ali Qadar relieved.

(b) Sartip Ahmad Vossuq to be head of the 3rd Bureau of the General Staff *vice* Sartip Hejazi.

(c) Sipahbud Muhammad Shahbakhti to be Inspector of the Forces in Azerbaijan.

(d) Sarlashgar Ahmad Agha Muini to be commander of the 6th (Fars) Division *vice* Sartip Saifullah Himmat, who remains as second-in-command.

(e) Sarlashgar Iraj Matbui to be an inspector in the Ministry for War.

NOTE.—(i) The Persian Chief of the General Staff stated that Qadar had been relieved as he was suffering from heart trouble; but there have been persistent reports of his extreme corruptness and from May 1945 to June 1946 he was held on the semi-retired list for this failing; and it was understood that he was being now relieved for the same reason.

(ii) The Chief of the General Staff stated that, although Himmat is an excellent officer with a thorough knowledge of the tribes of Fars, he lacks the personality to make a good commander (this in spite of the fact that he has been first a brigade commander in the area and then divisional commander continuously since June 1942). He remains as second-in-command to give Muini the benefit of his local knowledge.

Labour

14. The W.F.T.U. Delegation without the British member, Mr. Harries, who had visited the area prior to the arrival of the remainder of the party, visited Abadan, Agha Jari, Masjid-i-Suleiman and Bandar Mashur between 22nd and 29th March. Having previously agreed with the Minister of Labour that the delegation would travel without Tudeh escort, the President,

El Aris, changed his mind at the last moment and insisted that Jodat and Nataki should accompany the delegation as "interpreters." The Governor-General, Khuzistan, tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Government to ban the entry into the south of Jodat and Nataki on the grounds that they had been so closely involved with the agitation and disorders of summer 1946 that their presence might revive disorder. The Governor-General kept close watch on the delegation's activities in Abadan, and following statements made by Nataki to groups of workers to the effect that they should not be discouraged as the Tudeh was far from finished and was going to return in full strength, and in which he warned workers to have nothing to do with the new Oil Workers' Union, the Governor-General informed Nataki and Jodat that they had overstayed their welcome in Abadan. They returned to Tehran on 24th March, leaving the delegation to continue its tour of Khuzistan and to return to Tehran on Monday, 31st March, having spent two days *en route* in Isfahan.

Appendix

Persian New Year Promotions, March 1947

Sartips (Brigadiers) to be Salashgars (Divisional Generals)—

Ala'i, Ata'ullah: Head of the Finance Directorate, Ministry for War.

Amidi, Muhammad Husain: Head of the Aviation Directorate, Ministry for War.

Baharmast, Mahmud: Commandant of the Military Academy.

Diba, Mohsin: Head of the Artillery Directorate, Ministry for War.

Fathi, Asadullah: Head of the Veterinary Directorate, Ministry for War.

Humayuni, Fazlullah: Commandant 4th (Kurdistan) Division.

Khusropanah, Mahmud: Head of the Gendarmerie.

Khusrovani, Ahmad: Deputy Chief of the General Staff.

Mir-Jalali, Sayyid Mahmud: Head of the Ordnance Directorate, Ministry for War.

Zarrabi, Ibrahim: Commandant 3rd (Azerbaijan) Division.

Sarhangs (Colonels) to be Sartips (Brigadiers)—

Aftassi, Sayyid Nasrullah: Commandant of the Gorgan Brigade.

Afkhami, Azizullah: Head of the Horse-breeding Establishment.

Arfa, Asadullah: Head of the Ciphers Branch, General Staff.

Aslani, Amir Khan Faramarz: With Azerbaijan Forces.

Bahrami, Abdullah: Commandant 5th (Laristan) Division.

Baqai, Hassan: Military Prosecutor-General.

Batmanqilij, Nadir: Commandant Ardebil Brigade.

Beglari, Haider Quli: Officer Commanding Forces at Khaneh, Kurdistan.

Dadvar, Abdullah: Deputy Head of the Finance Directorate.

Darakhshan, Munir: Head of Tehran Supply Depot.

Hejazi, Abdul Husain: Commandant, 7th (Kerman) Division.

Jahanbani, Muhammad Husain: Deputy to the Minister for War.

Khalatbari, Asadullah: Head of the 2nd Court, Department of Military Justice.

Khusrovani, Mahmud: Deputy Head of the Personnel Directorate.

Mahin, Husain: Deputy Commandant of the Military Academy.

Muayyeri, Dust Muhammad: Head of the Printing Branch, General Staff.

Mushiri, Hassan: Deputy Head of the Intendance Directorate.

Muzaffari, Husain: Military Governor of Tehran.

Sariri, Muhammad Taqi: Head of a Military Hospital, Tehran.

Shahandeh, Muhammad Reza: Commandant, Kermanshah Brigade.

Shahin-Nuri, Ghulam Reza: Head of 1st Bureau, General Staff.

Vossuq, Ahmad: Head of the Department of Infantry Training, General Staff.

Zanganeh: Commandant, Rezaiyeh Brigade.

Police Sarhangs to be Sartips—

Binnam, Fathullah: Head of Central Police Station.

Danishpur, Ghulam Hussain: Chief of Police of Azerbaijan.

Suhaili, Hassan: Inspector.

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PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 13

Period 31st March-7th April, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 113 of 9th April; Received 16th April)

Persian Affairs

Political

Rumours of a split in the Cabinet persist (see paragraph 1 of Intelligence Summary No. 11) and it is generally believed that the Prime Minister intends to make some ministerial changes. It is nothing so straightforward as a direct cleavage between "reactionaries" and "progressives" as at first thought but a welter of personal jealousies, intrigues and quarrels over the distribution of the fruits of office. One Persian, commenting on this, stressed the unrivalled capacity of his countrymen for dissidence and dissolution and, when asked into how many groups the thirteen Cabinet Ministers were now divided, jokingly alluded to a well-known tradition of Muhammad's prophesying the number

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of sects into which Islam would be split after his death and replied "seventy-two."

2. The Persian Ambassador in Moscow informed a press delegation that Persia was preparing a claim for reparations from Germany which would amount to approximately 250 million pounds sterling. A large part of this sum was due to the Iranian State Railway for having transported Aid-to-Russia material. This sum, the Persian Ambassador was at pains to point out, did not by any means cover Persia's total war losses which, in proportion to her total resources, had been heavier than those sustained by any other nation. The Ambassador did not mention that his Government has already claimed a sum of about £12 million from the Allies for the Iranian State Railway under the headings of freight, profit and depreciation.

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The Elections

3. The following provincial results have come in:—

Behbahan: Sultan Ali Sultani (also in the 13th and 14th Majlises for this constituency).

Sari: Manuchihr Gulbadi; Sharifzadeh.
Abadeh: Muhammad Husein Qashgai.

Internal Security**Fars**

4. His Majesty's Acting-Consul at Shiraz reports that the Governor-General and some other officials are displeased with the replacement of Sartip Himmat by Sarlashgar Muini (see paragraph 13 of last Intelligence Summary) as G.O.C. 6th (Fars) Division. Sartip Himmat is an old South Persian Rifles officer with a well-deserved reputation for honesty. His long career in Fars has given him a wide knowledge of tribes whom he treats firmly but kindly.

5. Khosro Khan Qashgai shares the opinions of Fathullah Hayat Daudi reported in paragraph 7 of last Intelligence Summary and heartily disapproves of the list of candidates for election to the Majlis from Fars which Nasir Khan drew up with the Prime Minister on his recent visit to Tehran and is accusing his eldest brother of having sold Fars and the Qashgai in order to further his own interests. He is trying to persuade the Governor-General to postpone the elections but this astute official, though willing enough to take bribes from both parties to the dispute, is unlikely to risk the Prime Minister's displeasure either by upsetting the arrangements already made or by delaying their completion.

6. The O.C. Gendarmerie in Fars informed the British Military Attaché while in Shiraz that he had re-established his gendarmerie posts on the Shiraz-Bushire road as far as Kazerun but that the remaining portion was far from safe, each petty chieftain or village headman having posted his own armed retainers nominally to maintain security but in reality to levy toll on all passing traffic. Clashes between these musketmen at the junctions of their "spheres of influence" were of frequent occurrence.

Azerbaijan

7. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports a further extension of the

polling period. Local rumour gives as the reason the insufficiency of votes so far polled by the candidates nominated by the Government.

8. Ali Mansur, the Governor-General, according to the same source, is very displeased at the appointment of Sipahbud Shahbakhti as G.O.C.-in-C. of the Western Forces and, fearing interference in his sphere by so high-ranking an officer, is meditating resignation.

Kurdistan

9. Qazi Muhammad, Sadr Qazi his brother, the ex-Deputy, and Saif Qazi his cousin, were all executed in Mahabad on 31st March (see paragraph 5 of Intelligence Summary No. 4).

10. The Chief of the General Staff gave the British Military Attaché on 7th April the following situation regarding the Barzani operations:—

During the past week comparatively heavy fighting has been in progress both in the Mergawar plain and around Ushnuyieh which the Persian army captured on 5th April. The total casualties of the Persian army in both sectors to date are fifteen officers and seventy-five other ranks killed and about three times that number wounded. Two officers and fifteen other ranks of the Fauzieh Cavalry Regiment captured in the northern sector and three officers and thirty-five other ranks captured in the southern sector have been released by the Barzanis. After the capture of Ushnuyieh and an intensification of air action the Barzanis retreated westwards from both sectors and joined up near Qaleh Zeva (J-38 P, B 4825). On 6th April they were last seen heading for Iraq and a few miles from the border at the Berde Buk Pass (J-38 P, B 4303). On that day they had sent a message to the Persian commander requesting cessation of air action in return for which they would hand over all their artillery (believed to be six mountain guns), the Iraqi army officer deserters would accept Persian nationality, the Armenian contingent would be dismissed and the Persian army deserter officers and men would be handed over. This request was ignored. The Chief of the General Staff is of the opinion that the Barzanis will not stand and fight again in Persia but will cross the border into Iraq.

Economic

11. The Persian Government, by a Cabinet decree, has brought into force again the law of 1935 prohibiting the sale or purchase of foreign exchange except by permit and through an authorised bank.

British Interests

12. It is believed that the firm of Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners will secure the contract for the Kuhrang dam near

Isfahan. This project was originally made in the reign of Shah Abbas and aimed at tunnelling through a watershed in order to divert part of the waters of the Karun river into the Zayendehrud river which flows past Isfahan.

Indian Interests

13. The Indian trade delegation has left Tehran for Damascus.

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No. 83

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 14

Period 8th to 13th April, 1947

*(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 117 of 15th April; Received 23rd April)***Persian Affairs****Political**

In the political field there has been nothing of interest to report during the past week. In connexion with the rumoured ministerial changes names of possible departures and replacements are now beginning to be heard. It is said that the Shah is loath to give the Prime Minister written authority to effect the changes till he knows the names of those whom it is proposed to exclude and include. There are still no indications that the Majlis will be convened in the immediate future.

2. There has been some criticism in the Persian press of the proposed loan from the International Bank. In general, the Left-wing papers oppose it on the grounds that America will secure an economic stranglehold on Persia, while other papers predict gloomily that the money will not be spent on projects of benefit but will merely swell the profits of the racketeers. The Prime Minister may have been influenced by these criticisms. He may have realised, that, in any case, the International Bank does not possess the £50 million which the seven-year planners say they require. Be the reason what it may, it is obvious that the Persian Government is casting about for possible alternative sources of money. Their Ambassador in Moscow is to present a modest bill for German reparations for £250 million sterling. It is known that the Persian Government are keen to reopen negotiations with the British for a settlement of the war-time claims of the Iranian State Railway. Yet another source is

apparently to be explored, according to the chairman of the Mining and Industrial Bank, who informed His Majesty's Ambassador that the Persian Government is considering the possibility of a foreign loan to be secured from the royalties paid by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Asked how it was proposed to fill the large gap which would thus be caused in their annual revenue, this airy and enthusiastic official was sure that it could be filled by tightening up the administration.

Internal Security**Kurdistan**

3. The Assistant British Military Attaché, now on a tour in Kurdistan in company with the Air Attaché, reported on 12th April that the Barzanis, hard pressed by the Persian army advanced elements in the mountains of Gelar Dagh (J 38 P-B 5010) and Ulugh Dagh (B 4510), were retreating under aerial bombardment towards the Berde Buk pass on the Perso-Iraqi frontier at B 4403. There were indications that the tribe were crossing the frontier on 8th April. (The Persian Chief of the General Staff, describing these operations to the British Military Attaché on 9th April, referred to the Barzanis in the Gelar Dagh area as their main body and stated that Persian aerial reconnaissance on 8th April had shown that their advanced guard, amounting to about 300 men, had actually crossed the frontier and were seen near an Iraqi military outpost at Khanairi (G 3999).) A Persian column, probably the main body of the advanced

elements referred to above, was to move on 9th April to Gilas (B 5912). General Humayuni, uncertain of Iraqi intentions, had entered the Berde Buk pass to close its eastern exit, as it was believed that its western exit was blocked by the Iraqi forces. Aerial bombardment of the Barzanis will continue in the valley of Garderi Kichka (B 40). Tehran press and radio reports state that a son of Mulla Ahmad, the spiritual leader of the Barzanis, has been killed and that Mulla Mustafa, their military leader, has himself been wounded.

Azerbaijan

4. Sipahbud (General) Shahbakhti arrived in Tabriz on 5th April and has left for Rezaieh, which will be his headquarters as long as he remains in Azerbaijan as G.O.C.-in-C. of the Western Forces.

5. The elections are nearing completion. His Majesty's Consul-General reports a general apathy towards them.

Bakhtiari

6. Agha Khan Bakhtiari has left for Tehran to attempt to convince the Government of the unpopularity of Abul Qasim Khan's régime and to induce them either to appoint a co-governor, as before, from the rival branch of the tribe as a counter-balance, or to appoint a non-Bakhtiari governor.

Persian Army

7. The Minister for War has left Tehran on a tour of inspection of the Isfahan and Shiraz garrisons.

The Persian Navy

8. Reference paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 5 current, nothing has been heard of the results of the conversations in London between the Admiralty and the two Persian naval officers concerning the future of the Persian navy. When questioned by the British Military Attaché some three weeks ago, the Persian Chief of the General Staff replied that permission to stay in the United Kingdom for another month had been granted to the two officers for whom, according to their own statement, various visits to naval installations had been arranged.

9. A salvage party of an officer and sixteen ratings of the Royal Navy has arrived in Abadan. Their efforts to raise the Persian navy gun-boat *Palang* (which

was sunk at one of the A.I.O.C.'s oil jetties by the Royal Navy when British military forces entered Persia in 1941) have so far proved unsuccessful as the vessel is lying on her side. The salvage party now hope to tow the vessel down-stream and beach her. This job was undertaken at the request of the A.I.O.C. as the *Palang* was an obstruction. The Persian Government have requested that, on completion of the *Palang* job, the salvage party will undertake the raising of the *Homa* (ex-Sheikh of Muhammerah's steam-yacht *Ivy*) used as a depot ship by the Persian navy which, disintegrating from old age, sank in the Karun river last year after being handed back to the Persian navy. They also request that the salvage party will try to raise their other gun-boat of the *Palang* type, the *Babr*, which was sunk in the Karun river half a mile above the *Homa* by the British in 1941. Neither the *Homa* nor the *Babr* constitute an obstruction to shipping in their present positions.

10. According to an official of the A.I.O.C., recently on a visit to Tehran, the company has been helping the Persian navy to a considerable extent in refitting in their dry dock one of the three smaller gun-boats recently returned by the Royal Indian Navy. On completion of the refit the gun-boat made a trial trip to Bushire. Nothing was heard from her for three days and to allay the consternation caused in Persian naval circles the A.I.O.C. despatched a tug in search. The gun-boat was located at anchor off Bushire, the captain having forgotten to send a signal to notify his safe arrival. (Thus does Haji Baba put to sea!)

Labour

11. The W.F.T.U. delegation returned to Tehran on 7th April after visiting various factories in Mazandaran and the Russian fisheries at Pahlevi. During the tour it became clear to Mr. Harries, the British delegate, that El Aris is merely a figurehead as president and that little effort is made to conceal the fact that he takes his orders from M. Borisov, the Russian delegate. Despite Mr. Harries's protests, the delegation only interviewed Tudeh Party members or persons with a grievance against the Persian Government and, at Shahi, refused to receive a deputation from a crowd of 600 persons who had assembled to testify to the excesses committed by the local Tudeh trade union when in power. At Pahlevi the programme for the delegation was so arranged that

their entire time was taken up by an impressive reception in the house of the Russian manager of the fisheries and they were given no opportunity for private discussions with the workers, for hearing complaints or for inspecting houses and welfare amenities. At Shahi, El Aris alone visited the prison and talked with some 120 inmates, who had been convicted of attacking and disarming Persian military outposts last September. El Aris boasted of having served a five-year term of imprisonment and promised that he would, on his return to Tehran, intervene with the Prime Minister to secure their release. These activities have led the Persian Ministry of Labour representative attending on the

delegation to make a formal protest against this misuse of his privileges by El Aris.

Communications

12. The Persian Government intend to reopen land-line telegraph communication with India via Zahedan in the near future and the automatic morse equipment now used to work Bushire will be utilised for the Zahedan circuit. The Persian Government are also opening negotiations to establish direct wireless communication between Tehran and Bombay. Under these circumstances the Bushire station of Messrs. Cable and Wireless, Ltd., will decline in importance.

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No. 84

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 15

Period 14th-20th April, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 128 of 21st April; Received 1st May)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. There has been no official political news of importance during the past week but much political gossip, which cannot be completely ignored, indicates that Qawam-us-Saltaneh's path is not strewn with roses. His arrogance antagonises many Persians. The corruption, open and unashamed, of his closest supporters, is bringing his Cabinet and Government into disrepute. His Cabinet, itself, is not a harmonious body. The Deputies, elected to the next Majlis by his favour, are clamouring for the Majlis to be convened so that they may begin to draw their pay and organise their graft. Were he to accede to their demands he would, by his own act, call into being a querulous and obstructive body which would ask him for an account of his stewardship, question many of his acts as unconstitutional and curb his power, which is, at present, limited only by his fear of the army and of what the army might force the Shah to do. Were he to refuse their demands and continue to govern the country by Cabinet decrees he must soon become an object of Russian dislike, for as long as there is no Majlis they are thwarted in their desire for their oil concession. His position is not an easy one.

2. The Administrative Committee of the Majlis has invited all newly-elected

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Deputies to a meeting on 22nd April "in order that they may get to know each other." Already they know only too well not only each other but what each has paid.

3. *Rad-i-Imruz*, formerly Muzaffar Firuz's newspaper, has reappeared. In a recent leading article, after urging Persia to preserve her neutrality in the struggle between capitalism and communism, Firuz's activities at the Moscow Conference are given prominence. Muzaffar Firuz's wife returned to Tehran about a week ago and has been very active in stressing her husband's services to Persia and in preparing the ground for his return to office in Persia. It is known that Hamid Seyyah, the present Minister of Commerce (F.O. 155-M.A. 258), is working hard to get himself appointed as Ambassador to Moscow and, while the departure of this old dunderhead would cause no excitement, Muzaffar Firuz's return would arouse widespread alarm.

Elections

4. The following further provincial results have come in:—

Babul (Mazandaran)—
Yamin Isfandiari.(*)
Shariat Zadeh.(*)
Abbas Islami.

(*) Represented this constituency in the last Majlis.

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Hamadan—
Abbas Iskandari.
Barzin.
Firuzabad—
Khosro Qashgai.
Laristan (Bushire)—
Faramarzi.

The Persian Army

5. The Minister of War has returned from his tour of Isfahan and Shiraz.

6. A memorial service, attended by His Imperial Majesty The Shah, for the officers killed on active service in Kurdistan was held in the Sipah Salar mosque in Tehran on 19th April. Foreign military attachés were invited.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

7. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that up to 17th April only 10,000 votes had been cast in Tabriz out of an electorate estimated at 50,000. The same source reports some intervention by Government against the candidature of Sartipzadeh, Siqat-ul-Islam and Seyyid Zia, who are all political opponents of the Prime Minister.

Kurdistan

8. The Barzani operations are believed to have come to an end by the departure of the tribe from Persia. As reported in last week's Intelligence Summary some 300 are known to have crossed into Iraq. On the 14th-15th April a blizzard of great severity swept over the Garderi Kichka valley (J.38 P-B.40) and the Persian Chief of the General Staff is of the opinion that the main body of the Barzanis, plodding through deep snow with their families and flocks and caught in this shelterless defile, must have suffered very heavily. Up till 16th April Persian aircraft had been grounded by the bad weather and hence no reconnaissance had been possible. Mullah Ahmad is thought to be now in Iraq negotiating the surrender of the tribe. (Further details about these operations will be found in a tour report by the Assistant British Military Attaché.)

A rumour, the origin of which is not known but is believed to be Bagdad, was heard to the effect that three foreign officers assisting the Barzanis had been captured

and that arms for the Barzanis had been dropped by foreign aircraft. Both these stories are an entire fabrication. Six deserter Persian officers and an unknown number of Iraqi deserter officers are known to have been with the Barzanis.

Fars

9. Fatemi, Imad-us-Saltaneh, has been recalled to Tehran and a new Governor-General appointed in his place. His Majesty's Acting Consul thinks that the reason for Fatemi's recall is that he was planning to upset the Prime Minister's arrangements for the elections and, by the help of the army, to have others elected.

10. Nasir Khan Qashgai recently summoned a meeting of tribal chiefs at Kazerun and subsequently went to Bushire, where he conferred with Kashkuli Khans and other local notables on the subject of the elections.

Khuzistan

11. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports a meeting of about one hundred Persian Jews to collect funds for Palestine Jewry. Some of them were employees of the A.I.O.C. Iraqi Jews, aware of their Government's attitude to the Palestine question, did not participate. This meeting may not be unconnected with the recent visits to the area of a Mr. Halfern, a Jew and a suspicious character who is wandering round Persia ostensibly selling etchings.

Labour

12. Reference paragraph 11 of last Intelligence Summary, Reza Rusta, the Persian representative of W.F.T.U., has been arrested. His past activities in the Tudeh Party and his recent association with El Aris and the Communist element of the W.F.T.U. delegation now visiting Persia are well known and led Mr. Harries, the British delegate, to suspect that those might be the sole reasons for his arrest and that the charges of espionage were trumped up. The British Military Attaché was asked to elucidate this and, in reply to queries put to the Persian Chief of the General Staff, received the following account: Some days ago the General Staff received a message from the General Officer Commanding, Khuzistan, to the effect that, if a search of Reza Rusta's house in Tehran were made, it was probable that some telephones looted from the houses of the Arab contractors murdered in Abadan last

August in the Tudeh riots might be found. The search was carried out and the telephones were discovered. Among other finds were: (i) a list of and correspondence addressed to and received from Persian officers implicated in the Persian army mutiny of August 1945, (ii) documents proving that the Tudeh riots in Abadan and the murder of the Arabs had been directed by Reza Rusta from Tehran, (iii) certain lists of strengths and armament of Persian army formations, (iv) a mass of correspondence in Russian now under examination.

13. Whether as the result of pressure brought to bear by the Ministry of Labour or as the result of the recent visits to the Caspian Fisheries by the W.F.T.U. delegation, the board of this concern has decided to grant a 100 per cent. increase in the wages of its workers, bringing the daily wage to 35 rials; to construct workers' dwellings and institutes on a five-year plan, and to open co-operative stores.

(Note.—As the Russians will take care not to lose by this increased expenditure it may be predicted that the price of caviare will rise to about one rial per egg.)

Reparations

14. Reference paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary, in a broadcast from Tehran radio a breakdown of the total figure for reparations to be claimed from Germany was given. The details are as follows:—

	\$ million
(i) Wear and tear of the I.S. Railway	502
(ii) Expenses in connexion with the maintenance of Persia's armed forces who participated (<i>sic</i>) in the conflict ...	159
(iii) Wear and tear of State factories	33
(iv) Losses to the National Bank by inflation and damage to communications (other than railway)	136
(v) Government and private claims against Germany ...	125
Total	955

At the peace treaties after World War I in return for having changed sides several times and having been an unmitigated

nuisance to the British, Russians, Germans and Turks alike, the Persians laid claim to all lands between the rivers Oxus and Tigris. Perhaps they remember the scathing comment which greeted this claim. Perhaps they think that in the moral atmosphere of 1947 territorial expansion is regarded as even more indecent than in 1921. In any case, a cash claim amounting to nearly 240 million sterling is not likely to receive serious attention.

Appointments

15.—(i) Abdul Husein Sadri, Rukn-ul-Mulk, to be Governor-General of Fars *vice* Fatemi, Imad-us-Saltaneh, recalled. (A brief personality note on this obscure official will appear in next week's Intelligence Summary.)

(ii) Ghaffar Piran to be 1st Secretary to the Persian Embassy in Bagdad.

(iii) Abdul Hasan Riazi to be 1st Secretary at the Persian Consulate at Koweit.

Obituary

16. Sarlashgar (Major-General) Ali Riazi (F.O. 145). By his death Persia loses a man of outstanding sincerity, patriotism, honesty and professional knowledge.

The Press

17. The following summary of an article in *Shahbaz* is republished from the daily press summary compiled by the press attaché to this embassy:—

"*Shahbaz* (Left) reappeared on Monday, but was reported to have been suppressed yesterday. Its leading article was a long tirade against American imperialism, in the course of which it asserted that American approval of the attack on Azerbaijan and the reception given for Amar Khan Shakkak proved that they had a plan for a Greater Kurdistan. International adventurers can always find supporters among the Khans and Sheikhs, whom they strengthen while keeping the masses in darkness. Governments created by imperialism never work for the good of the people. Great Britain fomented risings against the central governments of Persia, Iraq and Turkey. Now an even more ruthless Power is talking of a Greater Kurdistan. This is a more demagogic way of establishing her influence in the Middle East than setting up a military or political base. It

would be a new ally for Turkey, whom America is now helping. America is also interested in the Northern Iraq oil fields. The Qazis were executed because they were not prepared to co-operate in this Greater Kurdistan under American

influence. The recent coldness between Qawam and the American Ambassador, and the latter's trip to Azerbaijan, are connected with this; America is trying to revive the old organisations in imitation of the sterling policy."

E 3881/17/34

No. 85

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 16

Period ended 29th April, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 140 of 1st May; Received 10th May)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. It is said that the Prime Minister intends to convene the Majlis when the elections in Fars and Azerbaijan are completed, which should be in about three or four weeks. Political gossip—it amounts to little more—says that the Russians are not now pressing the Prime Minister to open Parliament because they find widespread opposition to the idea of a Russian oil concession and fear that such a Bill would be thrown out by a Majlis in its present mood. In the light of this there is an air of probability about a further story to the effect that the Russians are busy in buying the Deputies most suspected of opposition to the proposed concession.

2. The Persian press announces that a delegation will leave Tehran by air for Cairo on 1st May to bring back Reza Shah's body for reinterment in Persia. General Ahmadi, the Minister for War, General Yazdanpanah, Chief A.D.C. to the Shah, and some six other high ranking officers will form the party. A detailed programme for the reception of the coffin from its arrival in Persia to its destination at Meshed has been published. According to the Minister of War, however, a last minute hitch has occurred in the form of renewed opposition to reinterment at Meshed by the clergy in Meshed and, urged thereto by them, from the merchants of the Tehran bazaar.

Internal Security

Kurdistan

3. The situation regarding the Barzanis is as follows:—

The Iraqi Government Directorate of Propaganda announced on 19th April that up to that date 1,550 Barzani men, including Sheikh Ahmad, the religious leader of

the tribe, 1,686 women and 1,329 children had surrendered and had been sent to reception areas. The number of Iraqi army officers who deserted to Mulla Mustafa was twelve, of whom two are now under arrest in Baghdad. The Persian Chief of the General Staff informed the British military attaché on 23rd April that he believed all the Barzanis to have left Persia. He did not know how many had surrendered to the Iraqi Government but was surprised at the smallness of the figures quoted above as his information put the total strength of the tribe at four times that figure and he could only surmise that the remainder had either perished in the blizzard of the 14th–15th April or had not yet made contact with the Iraqi authorities. His information was that Mulla Mustafa, with 500 armed retainers, six Persian army deserter officers and the Iraqi army deserter officers had left Persia heading for Barzan on 18th April. One Iraqi deserter officer had been captured in the recent fighting and two Iraqi deserter n.c.o.s had surrendered. They were being brought to Tehran for interrogation. From His Majesty's Embassy, Baghdad, comes a variant of this report giving the number of Mulla Mustafa's retainers as 200, his present whereabouts as Argosh, N.N.E. of Barzan and his situation as being penned by the Iraqi forces with whom the Turkish forces are collaborating. Unless, therefore, he succeeds in breaking back into Persia the Barzani affair, in so far as it affects Persia, would appear to be finished.

4. Now that those unwelcome guests, the Barzanis, have taken their leave the Persian army can get on with its task of disarming Persian Kurdistan, with the Herki as their first target. Their leader, Zero Beg, is still resisting near the Iraq border, and is reported by His Majesty's

Consul-General at Tabriz as saying that he will only surrender on an amnesty being granted by the Shah. The Persian Chief of the General Staff explained to the British Military Attaché his plan and the sub-division of the Kurdish tribal areas into ten military districts, each in charge of a colonel. The Chief of the General Staff stressed the need for striking while the iron was hot, and said that the casualties inflicted on the Barzanis and the vigour with which the operations had been carried out had impressed the Persian Kurds deeply, and, provided no time was lost, he did not anticipate any severe fighting in achieving his object.

Persian Army

5. The long-standing disagreement between the Ministry of War and the General Staff, frequently alluded to in these Intelligence Summaries and in greater detail in paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 3 current, has come to a head over some recommendations in a report submitted by Brigadier-General Grow, the chief of the American military mission. General Grow advised that the administrative depots located at headquarters of divisions should be taken out of the control of divisional commanders and be placed under the direct control of the Intendance Branch of the Ministry of War, to which, and not to the General Staff, General Grow's mission is attached. At first sight this would appear to be a sensible suggestion and a procedure, moreover, which follows American military administration. General Razmara, the Chief of the General Staff, opposed this plan violently, seeing in its adoption a lessening of his authority and a diminution in his profits, divisional commanders being under the control of the General Staff. The Shah sided with the Chief of the General Staff, and the Minister of War at an audience of the Shah tendered his resignation on the ground that his position would be impossible if powers of administrative spending were to be delegated to the General staff while he, as a Cabinet Minister, were still to remain responsible to the Majlis for the conduct of the army's business. A commission to discuss the dispute is to meet shortly.

Labour

6. The World Federation of Trade Unions delegation has left Persia. Mr. Harries, the British delegate, did not, in

the end, submit a minority report but signed the majority report with reservations. In reply to *El Avis's* demands for the release of Reza Rusta, the Minister of Labour published a statement in the press to the effect that, as Rusta had been charged with plotting against the safety of the realm, he was not competent to intervene.

Finance

7. A payment amounting to one-twelfth of the last annual budget has been sanctioned by the Council of Ministers.

Appointments

8. Dr. Hisabi, Governor of Burujird, to be the Governor of Shiraz.

Obituary

9.—(i) Mirza Kerim Khan Reshti. He was a hero of the Persian revolution of 1906–11 which established the constitution, one of the very few intimate friends of the late Reza Shah, a close adviser of the present Shah and a man of great political influence. He had been imprisoned by Qawam-us-Saltaneh some months ago for, it was alleged, intriguing with the Court against the Prime Minister. Newspapers hostile to the Prime Minister have given prominence to this, and have hinted that his end was hastened by his imprisonment. Much play has also been made of a visit paid to Kerim Khan in hospital by the Shah a few days before he died.

(ii) Sarlashgar Hasan Purzand. He was president of one of the standing military tribunals. He had been interned by the Allies during the war as a Germanophile.

Personalities

10. Reference paragraph 15 (i) of last Intelligence Summary, see appendix to this summary.

British Interests

11. Three British Members of Parliament, Messrs. Stokes (Labour), Segal (Labour) and Marshall (Conservative), visited Tehran between 23rd and 25th April. Their visit was unofficial.

Appendix

Personality Note on Abdul Husein Sadri Rukn-ul-Mulk

Born about 1880. Son of the late Sadrus-Saltaneh and cousin to Abdul Ali Sadri (F.O. 149). Has had an undistinguished career in the Ministry of Justice as a judge

and (twice) as Provincial Director of Justice in Fars. He is reputed to be fairly honest but quite incompetent. He owes his latest appointment to the intrigues of Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir who desired as

Governor-General in Fars a nonentity who could be trusted to carry out the electoral and other policies arranged by the Prime Minister, himself and Nasir Khan Qashqai.

E 4059/17/34

No. 86

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 17

Period ending 6th May, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 146 of 7th May; Received 16th May)

Persian Affairs

Political

In paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary a rumour was reported to the effect that the Russians were believed to have relaxed their pressure on the Prime Minister to convene the Majlis as they feared that, in its present mood, it might throw out the Oil Concession Bill. Confirmation of this has come from the assistant to the Prime Minister who was sent to inform His Majesty's Ambassador of the gist of a recent conversation between the Soviet Ambassador and the Persian Minister of Finance. At this interview M. Sadchikov made no reference to the oil agreement or to the need for an early convention of the Majlis. He had, however, expressed himself strongly over other questions which, he said, were causing his Government much concern. He pointed out that the armed forces of Persia were virtually under American control. He complained that, whereas the civil air agreement proposed by the Russians had been evaded on transparent pretexts, the Americans were now in virtual control of civil airlines throughout the country. He complained also that the project of financing the reconstruction programme with a foreign loan would consolidate Anglo-Saxon control over the national economy. Lastly he complained that the normal movement of Russian goods into Persia was subjected to all kinds of obstruction and chicanery (a reference, no doubt, to a recent insistence by the Persian Government that Russian goods must be cleared through the customs and pay duty in the normal manner). Finally he reminded the Minister of Finance of the extent of the Perso-Russian frontier and gave him to understand that the Soviet Union were not prepared to acquiesce indefinitely in the Persian Government's present policy.

2. The Persian press announced a few days ago a postponement from 1st to 7th May of the departure of the delegation to Egypt which was to bring back the body of Reza Shah (see paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary). A court communiqué published on 4th May states that, in response to numerous requests that Reza Shah's body should be reinterred in one of the holy places near Tehran, it has been decided to prepare a mausoleum in the shrine of Shah Abdul Azim (six miles south of Tehran). The body will not be brought back until the building has been completed.

Elections

3. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that the counting of votes concluded on 29th April and that the nine successful candidates were placed as follows:—

- (i) Jawad Ganjai.
- (ii) Nasr-ud-din-Nasiri.
- (iii) Amir Nusrat Iskandari.
- (iv) Haji Sheikh Asadullah Mamaghani.
- (v) Haji Muhammad Taqi Khoilar.
- (vi) Nusrat-ul-Malik Maleki.
- (vii) Dr. Yusuf Mujtahedi (was a Deputy in the last Majlis).
- (viii) Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh.
- (ix) Abul Qasim Lighvani.

No. (viii) is at present Persian Ambassador in London and it is not known whether he will accept election.

4. *Corrigendum*.—Paragraph 8 of Intelligence Summary No. 12, for "Shahreza" read "Shahr Kurd."

5. Radio Tabriz broadcast the following result for Khoi:—

Nur-ud-din Imami and Kamal Khan Maku.

Internal Security

Kurdistan

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that disarming operations in Kurdistan are to start with the Jelali Kurds who have been raiding in the Maku district. He does not mention the operations to disarm the section of the Herki under Zero Beg which had already started but which had been interrupted by the Barzani affair.

Bushire

7. A fracas occurred on 21st April at the Ittemadieh spinning mill when two representatives from the Ministry of Labour, who had arrived from Tehran to investigate a demand for an increase in wages, were assaulted by the mill hands. One of them had a piece of his ear torn off. The Persian police fired a few rounds to restore order and succeeded in wounding an old woman. Quiet prevails but the strike continues.

Persian Army

8. *Corrigendum*.—Reference paragraph 8 of Intelligence Summary No. 11 current, it is now learnt that the Lieutenant-Colonel Mazahari convicted of embezzlement was the same person as the Officer Commanding Troops at Khoi.

9. The American Military Mission now numbers one brigadier-general, three colonels, eleven lieutenant-colonels, two majors, two captains and seven staff sergeants.

10. Reference paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary the dispute between the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff as to administrative control of the divisional supply depots has not yet been settled. Unnecessary acrimony has been introduced into the discussions by the Chief of the General Staff, who, in order to win over the Shah to his side, has made fantastic allegations against the Minister of War to the effect that he has concluded a secret deal with the Prime Minister the result of which may either be a seizure of power by the Prime Minister through a *coup d'état* brought about by the Minister for War, or, at least, the gradual passing of control of the army into the hands of the Prime Minister. Unfortunately Reza Shah's cynical disbelief in the veracity of his countrymen is matched by the credulity of his son.

Economic

11. The Persian Government is believed to be considering the advisability of creating a new ministry of economics or, alternatively, the setting up of an economic council to co-ordinate the schemes of the various ministries concerned in the seven-year plan of development in Persia.

12. Of the eleven experts of the American firm of Morrison Knudsen who have been in Persia for the past three months studying economic conditions, three have left and the remaining eight are due to leave shortly. Within a few months of their return to the United States they are due to submit a report on the practicability of the various projects outlined in the seven-year plan.

Labour

13. May Day passed off quietly, the Government having banned all street processions lest, it was stated, they should lead to clashes between the Tudeh Party and other labour organisations.

Administration

14. According to a decree of the Council of Ministers, Mekrar is to be separated from the VIIIth Ustan (Governorate-General) and is to be made into a separate province divided into three governorates of Saravan, Iranshahr and Chahbar.

The Press

15. The newspaper *Sada-yi-Watan* has been suppressed and its editor Seyyid Ali Besharat, arrested on 27th April for publishing an attack on the Prime Minister.

The Court

16. The Persian press announces that Princess Ashraf is to visit the United States in August to study charity organisation.

Appointments

- 17.—(i) Abdul Husein Meykadeh to be Counsellor at the Persian Legation in Berne.
- (ii) Manuchihr Behnam to be 2nd Secretary at Belgrade.
- (iii) Jelal-ud-din Daudi to be Consul in Palestine.
- (iv) Ali Futuhi to be Consul-General at Baku.
- (v) Anushirwan Kazemi to be 3rd Secretary at Berne.

- (vi) Feridun Muwassaqi to be 3rd Secretary at Berne.
- (vii) Murteza Adl Tabatabai to be 3rd Secretary at Rome.
- (viii) Abbas Malik Madani to be Counsellor at Rome.
- (ix) Ali Reza Herawi to be 3rd Secretary at Washington.
- (x) Masud Jehanbani to be 3rd Secretary at Washington.

- (xi) Izzatullah Faraji Shadan to be Vice-Consul at Bombay.
- (xii) Yadullah Sanai to be Vice-Consul at Baku.
- (xiii) Hushang Safinia to be 3rd Secretary at Brussels.
- (xiv) Muhammad Behnam to be 2nd Secretary at Beirut.
- (xv) Humayun Samii to be 3rd Secretary at Warsaw.

E 4304/17/34

No. 87

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 18

Period ending 13th May, 1947

*(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 166 of 15th May; Received 21st May)***Persian Affairs****Political**

1. There is still no news of a date having been fixed for the convention of the Majlis. With the obvious exception of the newly elected Deputies themselves nobody seems anxious to see this body come to life. The Shah is reputed to be apprehensive of parliamentary criticism of the army's administration, of its size, of its cost and of his own increasing interference in its affairs. The Prime Minister is in no hurry to change his present untrammelled control of public business for a life of endless bickering with the Deputies. The Russians, as stated last week, are uneasy about the reception at the hands of the Majlis of the Bill for their oil concession. The educated section of the populace was too disgusted with the garrulous futility of the 14th Majlis to have any hopes of the 15th.

2. During the past week there have been some rumours of changes in the Cabinet and, indeed, more than one newspaper actually came out with a list of the new Ministers, which drew an official denial from the Government. The Minister for War, in private conversation with the British Military Attaché on 12th May, said that Hahzir, the Minister of Finance, might resign soon on account of disagreement with his colleagues on the question of a foreign loan, and out of general disgust at the corruption now practised by the Prime Minister's supporters. The same source stated that some of the Prime Minister's friends had advised him to drop Nikpay, Musawizadeh and Aramish, as

their peculation was bringing his Cabinet into disrepute, but that he was unlikely to do so as he would thereby lose his three most trusted lieutenants.

The Elections

3. The following provincial results have come in:—

Khalkhal, Ahmad Dehqan (editor of *Tehran-i-Musawwar*)
Shahreza, Sardar Aazam.
Sarab, Bahaduri.

4. A Persian newspaper announces that, after discussions at Firuzabad with Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, the Governor-General of Kerman and a close friend of the Qashgai, Nasir Khan Qashgai has decided not to stand as a candidate for election. With brother Khosro in for Firuzabad, and brother Muhammad Husein for Abadeh, Nasir probably thought that the family were sufficiently represented.

Economic

5. A press communiqué states that the Council of Ministers has approved of the budget for the Persian year 1326 (21st March, 1947, to 20th March, 1948). The communiqué gives the total expenditure as 7,700 million rials (approximately £60 million) and the revenue as 5,030 million rials (approximately £39 million). No further details are given.

6. Taxes on cigarettes and petrol and kerosene have been increased. It is said that most of the yield will be required for governmental expenditure in Azerbaijan

and, in particular, on the extension of the I.S. railway from Mianeh to Tabriz (125 million rials), and on the construction of a university in Tabriz (6 million rials).

Internal Security**Azerbaijan**

7. The Persian press reports the assembly of a crowd in Tabriz to protest to the Governor-General against the continued entry into Azerbaijan of immigrants from Soviet territory. The Governor-General is reported to have assured the crowd that the matter was receiving the attention of Government.

8. According to His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz, General Zarrabi, the General Officer Commanding, Tabriz, states that the Russians are showing unusual interest in the Persian frontier, as is evidenced by increased aerial reconnaissance by them. The same source reports the Governor-General as being more concerned than hitherto to avoid giving offence to the Soviet Consul-General.

Kurdistan

9. The Chiefs of the General Staff informed the B.M.A. on 13th May that the disarming of the Kurds was progressing satisfactorily, and that, so far, there had been no clashes. He was confident that the task would be completed by the end of the next Persian month (22nd June). His forecast appears optimistic in the light of his subsequent remarks to the effect that, up to date, the number of the rifles handed in by the Kurds was less than 1,000. The Shah has proclaimed a general amnesty for the Kurds of Kermanshah, Kurdistan and Rezaieh areas, who were involved in the recent hostilities.

10. The Persian Government have asked the Government of Iraq to return to them any rifles, machine guns or guns of Persian army pattern which the Barzanis removed from Persia and handed in to the Iraqi army on their recent surrender.

The Caspian Provinces

11. His Majesty's consul at Resht reports that a few of the port buildings at Bandar Shah (the northern terminus of the I.S. Railway) are still occupied by the Russians. Inside the port area there is also a wireless station operated exclusively by the Russians.

Khorasan

12. His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed reports that a Persian delegation has recently returned from Soviet territory

whither they had gone to negotiate a settlement in an irrigation dispute concerning the division between the two countries of the waters of six rivers in the area between Sarakhs and Lutfabad. The recent agreement appears merely to confirm an older agreement of 1926 whereby Russia takes three-fifths and Persia two-fifths of the water.

Fars

13. Kazerun has been reoccupied by Government troops. According to the C.G.S. the garrison consists of an infantry regiment, two squadrons of cavalry and a mountain battery. One battalion from this garrison is to leave for Bushire shortly.

Persian Army

14. The Minister for War informed the B.M.A. on 12th May that the advice tendered to the Shah by himself and Brigadier-General Grow regarding the divisional administrative depots (see paragraph 10 of last Intelligence Summary) had been disregarded, and that the Shah had accepted the advice of the C.G.S. to the effect that they should be placed under the control of the Divisional Commanders. It is believed that, heartened by this success, General Razmara is now egging on the Shah to transfer other responsibilities from the Ministry of War to the General Staff.

15. The purchasing mission has not yet left for the United States, but a Reuter's message from Washington hints that the credit agreement is about to be signed. The message gives the total as 30 million dollars, and states that 25 per cent. of this will probably be paid in cash (see paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 10).

The Court

16. His Imperial Majesty the Shah is to pay a State visit to Tabriz on or about 23rd May.

Administration

17. Owing to a return to more settled conditions military governorship has been lifted from the towns of Senneh (Sennan-daj), Qurveh and Diwandarreh.

Appointments

18.—(i) Fathullah Nuri Isfandiari (F.O. 69) is to go to Washington with the rank of Minister. It is understood that this move is due to the recent ill-health of Husein Ala, the ambassador, who has been recommended to take sick leave in the United States and not to any intention of replacing the ambassador. Fathullah

Nuri Isfandiari, now on leave in Tehran, has been Persian Government Commissioner with the A.I.O.C. in London for the past three years.

(ii) Reza Amidi, who was sent to Saveh as inspector of the elections, is to remain there as Governor.

British Interests

19. The Persian Minister of Roads and Communications has agreed to buy for cash

at a price of £14,000 odd the British military disposals railway equipment which was lying at Tanuma in Iraq. He has also agreed to purchase for £185,000 odd 403 railway wagons, one crane and twenty-nine locomotives, which were left in Persia. This latter sum is to be deducted from the Persian railway settlement when finally agreed upon. Negotiations are now in progress.

E 4596/17/34

No. 88

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 19

Period ended 20th May, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 173 of 22nd May: Received 30th May)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. The income and expenditure figures of the Persian budget for 1326 (21st March, 1947, to 20th March, 1948) which were reported in paragraph 5 of last "Intelligence Summary" have evoked some criticism of the Government's failure to balance its budget, of the unduly high cost of salaries (about 70 per cent. of the total expenditure) and of the Prime Minister's administration in general. As the result of these criticisms the Prime Minister has set up two committees. The first, over which he himself will preside, is an axing committee to reduce the size of the various Ministries. The second is to carry out a detailed examination of the budgets of the different Ministries. It contains the names of some well-known persons, such as Dr. Ali Amini, Salman Assadi, Allahyar Saleh.

2. In addition to setting up the two committees mentioned above the Prime Minister made a lengthy broadcast on 12th May in reply to his critics. It followed, in the main, his previous apologia and pleaded for sound criticism instead of slanderous exaggerations. It mentioned his past achievements and future intentions and paid tribute to the support he had received from H.I.M. the Shah. Regarding the budget it stressed the difficulty facing the Prime Minister's Administration owing to the fact that the last Majlis had failed to pass the budget and that, in consequence, much extra expenditure had been incurred. This did not imply extravagance on his part but merely sanctioning extra

grants for items which should have been but had not been budgeted for. Such items were:—

	Tomans
1. Election expenses	2,000,000
2. Security forces	60,000,000
3. Education	12,000,000
4. Sanitary measures	2,000,000
5. Other departments	30,000,000
6. Tobacco, opium and cereals monopolies	25,000,000
7. Construction and purchase of buildings, &c.	3,000,000
8. International commitments	5,000,000
9. Expenditure caused through the invitation of American specialists to discuss the Seven-Year Economic Plan	500,000
10. Miscellaneous	14,500,000
Total	154,000,000
or approximately	£12,000,000

3. During the past two years several tentative attempts have been made to bring to trial Seyyid Muhammad Tadayon (F.O. 172, M.A. 288), the Minister of the Interior in Ali Soheili's Cabinet and later Minister of Food. The trial has at last begun and Tadayon is charged with improper interference as Minister of the Interior in the elections for the last Majlis in the constituencies of Baluchistan and Bandar Abbas and also, as Minister of Food, with corruption. No mention is made of Ali Soheili, whose trial has frequently been demanded as implicated in the first charge. An article in the *Journal de Téhéran* of 19th May in the usual tradition of the Persian press denounces Tadayon as guilty and demands his punishment as a warning to others. While there may, possibly, be some substance in the two charges, it is strange

that the present Administration should have the effrontery to charge anyone with improper interference in the elections.

The Elections

4. Reference paragraph 3 of last "Intelligence Summary," the name of the Deputy for Shahreza is Abul Fath Qahrman. Sardar Aazam, the name by which he is best known, is actually his title.

5. Reference "Intelligence Summary" No. 17, paragraph 3 (viii), according to a press report, his Excellency Taqizadeh, Persian Ambassador in London, has notified the Ministry of the Interior of his acceptance of the seat for Azerbaijan to which he was recently elected.

Economic

6. A communiqué by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce states that the export from Persia of the following commodities has been forbidden:—

- (i) Wheat, barley, rice, maize.
- (ii) Peas, beans, lentils.
- (iii) Sheep, goats, horses, camels, donkeys, mules.
- (iv) Butter, animal oils, cheese, honey, eggs, olives, soap.
- (v) Wool, cotton, cloth.
- (vi) Clothing.
- (vii) Leather.
- (viii) Gunny bags, string.
- (ix) Charcoal.
- (x) Loaf or crystallised sugar.
- (xi) Tea.
- (xii) Cotton seed, cotton-seed oil.

Internal Security

The Persian Gulf

7. General Hojazi, the General Officer Commanding, Kerman Division, has visited Bandar Abbas and has stated that a garrison will soon be established on the island of Qishm.

8. Reference paragraph 13 of last "Intelligence Summary," a press message states that the garrison of Bushire was re-established on 14th May.

Fars

9. Both the Minister for War and the Chief of the General Staff have informed the British Military Attaché of the intention to move troops into Fars to ensure disarmament by the Qashqai and other tribes as soon as the disarmament of Azerbaijan and

Kurdistan is completed. The Chief of the General Staff went into great detail and said that in his view Fars should be placed under military governorship during these operations to ensure unified control. He urged either the abolition of the existing system of the distribution of rationed commodities by coupon or, alternatively, the issue of coupons to the headmen of the "tirehs" (tribal subsections). The present system of wholesale distribution to the tribal chiefs, especially the four Qashqai brothers, facilitated corruption on a gigantic scale as the recipients promptly sold these on the black market in Shiraz and little, if any, of the supplies reached the tribesmen.

Kurdistan

10. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that about twenty villages of the Shakkak Kurds have already handed in their rifles to the Persian army and that the tribe generally appears to be willing to do so. The Chiefs of the Jelali Kurds have met General Shahbakhti and their attitude appears less certain. Some troops have been concentrated in Maku and Khoi to deal with any situation which might arise.

Persian Army

11. Reference paragraph 5 of "Intelligence Summary" No. 16, the Minister for War informed the British Military Attaché on 19th May that at an audience with H.I.M. the Shah on 17th May the latter had asked him to withdraw his resignation and promised to re-examine the dispute between the Ministry of War and the General Staff on his return from his tour of Azerbaijan.

Persian Gendarmerie

12. General Schwarzkopf has left for the United States on leave. He will also superintend the purchase of material for the gendarmerie. According to his Chief of Staff, the gendarmerie's share of the 30-million-dollar credit is to be 5 million.

The Court

13. Reference paragraph 16 of last "Intelligence Summary," H.I.M. the Shah is to travel as far as Mianeh in the royal train and thence to Tabriz by road. It is thought that the return journey will be made via Ardebil, Astara and Pahlevi. General Yazdanpanah, chief aide-de-camp

to the Shah, informed the British Military Attaché that the royal tour would be of between two and three weeks' duration.

Appointments

14.—(i) Ghaffar Yeganeh to be Governor of Burujird vice Mehdi Quli Muzaffari.

(ii) Nizam-ud-din Imami, a son of the late Imam Juma of Khoi and a nephew by marriage of the Prime Minister, has been appointed Persian Government Commissioner with the A.I.O.C. in London. He was in the company's employ for some years as a legal adviser.

Russian Interests

15. Conversations are now taking place between the Persian Government and the Soviet Embassy concerning the sums owed by the latter on account of railway charges and customs dues which accrued during the war.

16. The Soviet Ambassador left for Russia on one month's leave on 18th May.

Norwegian Interests

17. His Excellency M. Hans C. Berg, the Norwegian Minister in Moscow, who is also accredited to Tehran, has arrived on a visit and presented his letters of credence to H.I.M. the Shah on 9th May.

American Interests

18. An American destroyer, *Hyman*, visited Abadan between 14th and 17th May on a courtesy visit. The cruiser *Toledo* visited Ras Tanumah in the Gulf and another destroyer, *Dickson*, anchored at Basra. Admiral Conally, described in the Persian press as "Naval Commander-in-chief, Eastern Atlantic, Mediterranean and Persian Gulf," paid a brief visit to Tehran. He was accompanied by a Rear-Admiral Glover of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. They were received in audience by H.I.M. the Shah.

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No. 89

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 20

Period ended 27th May, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 181 of 28th May; Received 6th June)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. During the past week correspondents in Tehran have been sending reports to London newspapers which suggested that serious trouble was being caused in Azerbaijan by terrorist bands and immigrants from Soviet territory. Neither report was true. Some 300 people who had been thrown into prison by the populace as suspected of sympathy with the Democrat régime between the collapse of that movement and the re-entry of the Government forces have recently been liberated and sent to Tehran. The number of immigrants who have arrived in Persia in ones and twos after escaping from Soviet territory has, according to the Chief of the General Staff been, at the most, 200 during the past six months. These also are under close observation. In answer to foreign correspondents who asked for information on this subject the Minister of Propaganda replied that no such immigration was possible since "the frontier was closed"—not only an inaccurate statement but an

unfortunate phrase of the usually accepted meaning of which he was presumably ignorant. In point of fact the frontier is very inadequately guarded, as the proposal to withdraw the gendarmerie or substitute military frontier guards has not yet been carried out. At the suggestion of the British military attaché the Chief of the General Staff issued a communiqué and also made a broadcast statement on the Persian army's radio transmission. It was worded as follows:—

"It has recently been observed that various reports have been published by the Persian press and by foreign agencies concerning the army and military matters. The majority of these reports are absolutely without foundation, and the Ministry of War takes this opportunity of requesting that all Persian journalists and foreign correspondents in Persia will, in order to ensure the accuracy of their reports on military affairs confine themselves to statements made by the Army Information Department. In this connexion the

Ministry of War categorically denies the reports published by certain papers about the closing of frontiers, the entry of refugees and terrorist groups into Persia and the emigration of tribes, and declares them to be without foundation."

The Elections

2. Sezawar has been elected to the 15th Majlis for the constituency of Saveh, and Suleiman Zia Ibrahim for Jiruft.

External Security

Azerbaijan

3. Ibrahim, who was Prosecutor-General of Azerbaijan under the Democrat régime, was hanged in Tabriz on 23rd May.

4. His Majesty's Consul-General, Tabriz, is of the opinion that the rumours of "Muhajir" infiltration and Russian military concentrations on the frontier (see paragraph 1 above) have been put about by Soviet agents in order to keep Azerbaijan in a state of nerves. According to the same source, Jajarov and Ali Akbarov, two officials of the Soviet vice-consulate in Rezaieh, are active in inciting the Kurds and Assyrians of Western Azerbaijan against the Persian army.

Bakhtiari

5. His Majesty's acting consul at Isfahan reports increasing discontent among the Bakhtiari at Abul Qasim's harsh and predatory rule. Disappointed in their efforts in Tehran with the Prime Minister to secure his removal, some of the khans are now talking of forceful measures and of installing Jehanshah Khan, son of Murteza Quli Khan, in his place. In high military circles in Tehran the view prevails that one khan is as bad as another, and the rivalries between the two families of the Ilkhani and Haji Ilkhani are so great that no one candidate could be found who would be acceptable to both. Joint governorship has proved a failure and a solution must be found either in military governorship or governorship by a non-Bakhtiari.

Finance

6. The Persian press has had some sharp things to say about the failure, so far, on the part of the Soviet Government to repay to the Persian Government the 11 million odd grammes of gold which, by agreement

with the National Bank of Persia, they were due to repay by 2nd March, 1946.

7. The negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government regarding the settlement of the Persian State Railway claims have not yet been concluded. Wide as was the gap between what the Persians claimed and His Majesty's Government was prepared to pay, a compromise might have been effected but for an ill-timed pronouncement by the Persian Ministry of Propaganda to the effect that arbitration would be sought. As is usual, the Persian press had been free for months to make play with the amounts (some 20 million sterling) claimed by Persia and the populace had been led to expect this sum, and the Persian Government, in consequence, did not dare to court unpopularity by accepting a smaller sum even though it represented an equitable settlement. Arbitration, therefore, is a face-saving device on the part of the Persian Government.

The Court

8. His Imperial Majesty the Shah arrived in Tabriz on 25th May and has now left for the western side of Lake Urmieh on his tour of Azerbaijan. His Majesty's consul-general at Tabriz reports that the welcome was spontaneous and enthusiastic.

Appointments

9. Fathullah Nuri Isfandiari, in addition to being Persian Minister in Washington (see paragraph 18 (i) of Intelligence Summary No. 18), will represent Persia on the International Bank vice Dr. Musharraf Nafisi resigned.

Obituary

10. Lutfullah Rafii, the newly elected Majlis Deputy for Bam.

Russian Interests

11. Colonel Boris Gheorchievitch Razine, the Russian military attaché, has proceeded on leave. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British military attaché that it was unlikely that he would return. Following so soon after the departure of the Russian Ambassador, this event, trivial in itself, has caused widespread rumours to the effect that both have been recalled in disgrace.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 21

Period ended 3rd June, 1947

*(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 191 of 3rd June; Received 11th June)***Persian Affairs****Political**

1. His Excellency Mahmud Jam, Persian Ambassador in Cairo, has returned to Tehran after a five-years' tenure of his appointment. His successor has not yet been nominated. Mahmud Jam's name among several others has been mentioned recently as a possible successor to Taqizadeh in London should the latter accept his seat in the 15th Majlis.

2. With His Imperial Majesty the Shah absent on the Royal tour of Azerbaijan the capital has been politically quiet during the past week. A month is still mentioned as the period likely to elapse before the Majlis is convened. Less and less is heard of any ministerial changes before the Cabinet as a whole tender their resignation to the new Majlis according to constitutional practice.

3. The Persian cultural and political mission to India has returned to Persia.

4. The trial of Tadayyun (see paragraph 3 of Intelligence Summary No. 19) ended on 28th May in his acquittal on both charges.

The Elections

5. Addendum to paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary: "The first name of Sezawar is Imam-ud-Din."

Internal Security**Khorasan**

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed reports that in spite of the recently concluded agreement on water rights (see paragraph 12 of Intelligence Summary No. 18) disputes between Persians and Russians still take place on the frontier.

Kurdistan

7. The Minister of War informed the British military attaché on 2nd June that Mulla Mustafa Barzani with 200 followers had returned to Persia two days previously and was now in the Mergawar-Tergawar area. He had been informed that he must surrender unconditionally.

The Persian Army

8. According to a senior officer in the American Gendarmerie Mission, a hitch has occurred in the negotiations for the 30-million-dollar credit from the United States for the purchase of military equipment. The Ministry of War or, more accurately, the Shah and the Chief of the General Staff, who are the chief promoters of the scheme, have tried from the beginning to negotiate the deal as a credit and not as an interest-bearing loan since the latter transaction would, by law, require Majlis sanction. The United States Government, it is believed, do not favour this hole-in-the-corner method and have insisted on obtaining the sanction of the Majlis, stating that they are prepared to earmark the equipment required and to hold it for ninety days at Persia's disposal on the assumption, presumably, that the new Majlis will be convened within that period. The above information was confirmed by the Minister for War to the British military attaché on 2nd June.

The Court

9. His Imperial Majesty the Shah, after leaving Tabriz on the Royal tour, has visited Marand, Khoi and Maku, and has now left for Rezaieh.

Administration

10. Reference paragraph 14 of Intelligence Summary No. 17, Seistan has not yet been included in the new province of Mekran or, as most Persians pronounce it, Mukran. According to Burzoo Kalkur, the Governor of Zabol, now on leave in Tehran, the new province of Mekran is not an "Ustan" (Governorate-General) but an "Ayalat" (Governorate) directly under Tehran.

Appointments

11. Hushang Razali to be third secretary at the Persian Embassy in Stockholm.

Obituary

12. Ghulam Ali Hidayet, adviser to the Supreme Court of Justice. The deceased was a younger brother of Sartip Abdullah Hidayet, Deputy Minister for War, and, therefore, a son of Mukhbir-ud-Dowleh the younger.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 22

Period ended 10th June, 1947

*(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 202 of 11th June; Received 18th June)***Persian Affairs****Political**

1. With His Imperial Majesty the Shah still absent on tour there has been little or no visible political activity, but the Cabinet has not been idle as it has to face several problems demanding action in the near future, among which the budget is of some urgency. In the first place, the Prime Minister has to decide whether the time has now come for him to request the Shah to convene the Majlis. Much as Qawam-us-Saltaneh may dislike the prospect of facing that body it is difficult to see how even such a skilled procrastinator as he is can avoid summoning it for much longer. Secondly, there is much evidence to show that the Treasury is embarrassingly short of money. Thirdly, it is obvious that very soon Qawam-us-Saltaneh must do what is to any Persian a distasteful thing, namely, to make up his mind as to the next step in the business of the Russian oil concession.

2. The Persian Government has made a formal request for the *agrément* for Mohsin Rais as Persian Ambassador in London in succession to Taqizadeh. A note on the new ambassador will be given in a later issue of this summary when His Majesty's Government's reply to the request is known.

3. It is learnt from several reliable sources in Tehran that Muzaffar Firuz, the Persian Ambassador in Moscow, has been granted one or two months leave of absence and that he and his wife intend to go to France or Switzerland.

4. An official communiqué states that at the suggestion of the Ministry of Justice His Imperial Majesty the Shah is pleased to grant a partial amnesty to those con-

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Iraqi Interests

13. Ismail Hakki el Agka, who has been Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires in Tehran for the past year, has proceeded on leave before taking up a new post in Bombay. It is understood that a Minister is to be appointed to Persia shortly.

victed of rebellious acts by the special military tribunals in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Khamseh (Zinjan) by remitting their punishments to the extent of one degree.

The Elections

5. The elections in Fars are reported in the press as completed, but the final count remains to be made.

6. Mahmud Mahmud, the Governor-General of Tehran, has been elected for Najafabad, the remaining seat in the Isfahan district. (This official, at the time of the compulsory adoption of surnames under the late Reza Shah, selected as his family name "Pahlavi," but was instantly bidden to change it as the sovereign had chosen the same name to distinguish his dynasty. Being a mere "Mirza Mahmud" and possessing no title, he extricated himself from the difficulty by duplicating his first (or Christian) name.)

Internal Security**Kurdistan**

7. Reference paragraph 7 of last Intelligence Summary, the Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 5th June that Mulla Mustafa Barzani had re-entered Persia from Iraq via Turkey on 31st May. The number of his followers was estimated at about 300 by the nearest Iraqi commander, and at 400 to 500 by the nearest Persian commander. No families accompanied him nor had any animals been seen. The arms of the party appeared to be limited to a rifle apiece. Zero Beg Herki is believed to be with them. Mulla Mustafa's situation was

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very different from before. Whereas, during his previous sojourn in Persia or, at any rate, during the earlier part of it, he had styled himself General Officer Commanding of the Kurdish forces, was possessed of guns, rifles and machine guns and ammunition galore, was believed to be enjoying Russian support and was at the head of a large tribe and some 1,500 fighting men, he now reappeared in the rôle of a hunted fugitive reduced to begging bread for his retainers from the frontier hamlets. After a brief stay in the Mergawar-Tergawar area he had moved northwards, nearly always by night, zig-zagging across the Turco-Persian frontier, and was last heard of on 5th June near Khanik (J-38 I, W 0744) in the salient. The Chief of the General Staff was of the opinion that Mulla Mustafa's destination was either Soviet territory or the Mount Ararat area, where, with the support of the Jelali Kurds, he might hope to hold out for some time. The Persian army had moved up to block his passage by occupying the line of the Qutur Chai river from the frontier through Qutur to Khoi, but, the Chief of the General Staff said, it would be comparatively easy for Mulla Mustafa to slip round this column by moving through Turkish territory.

Bakhtiari

8. In paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 14 mention was made of the unpopularity of the rule of Abul Qasim, Governor of Bakhtiari, and of the efforts being made by the other Khans to procure his removal. His exactions have increased and the efforts to replace him have not slackened. He has now been summoned to Tehran by the Prime Minister to reply to the accusations. As he is believed to have purchased the support of both the Prime Minister and of the Chief of the General Staff, his removal may prove beyond the powers of the other Khans.

Persian Navy

9. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports that "the Royal Navy salvage party have at last succeeded in raising the sunken sloop *Palang* at Abadan. While towing the wreck down-stream, however, the cables supporting the vessel snapped and the *Palang* sank again. New cables are being attached and the wreck will be towed further down-stream and

beached. The steam yacht *Homa ex-Ivy* at Khorramshahr has not yet been raised.

The Court

10. After visiting Rezaieh, Mahabad and Maragheh, His Imperial Majesty the Shah has left Tabriz for Ardebil, Astara and Pahlevi. According to His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz the royal visit was an unqualified success and amply demonstrated the loyalty and affection of the Azerbaijanis not only to the throne but to the person of the Shah. Some agitators, remnants, doubtless, of the Democrat régime, had put about entirely baseless rumours of attempted attacks on the Shah in order to detract from the success of the tour. His Imperial Majesty is expected to return to Tehran from Qazvin by road on 11th June.

Finance

11. The commercial counsellor of His Majesty's Embassy has compiled the following note on Persia's sterling balances:—

"Under the terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement, the current sterling earnings of all countries will, after 15th July, 1947, be available for expenditure in any currency area. In other words, any sterling which Persia earns after that date can be used to buy goods in the United States, in Sweden, or any other country outside the sterling area bloc.

"Under the same agreement His Majesty's Government undertook to discuss with the various countries concerned, the disposal of their accumulated sterling balances. This will present His Majesty's Government with a formidable problem as they total £4,000 million, the biggest creditor nations being India and Egypt.

"As regards Persia, the position is that the National Bank of Persia holds about £24 million worth of accumulated sterling, but it is difficult to say what it will be holding on 15th July, as documentary credits have been opened for nearly £15 million. What the National Bank would like to do, of course, is to receive an assurance from His Majesty's Government that these accumulated earnings can be freely expended in any currency area. This question is at present under discussion with the Treasury."

The Budget

12. An official communiqué gives further details on the budget (see paragraph 5 of

Intelligence Summary No. 18), and it is now claimed that the budget is balanced. The following figures are given:—

	Rials
(i) Total budgeted expenditure for 1326 (21st March, 1947, to 20th March, 1948) ...	7,762,443,675
(ii) Total budgeted revenue for 1326 (21st March, 1947, to 20th March, 1948) ...	5,559,068,531
(iii) Cash in hand at the beginning of 1326: £2 million plus Rials 120 million ...	380,000,000
(iv) Value of opium stocks less advances by Banque Milli ...	280,000,000
(v) Value of tobacco, cigarette and paper ...	280,000,000
(vi) Value of wheat and barley stocks ...	450,000,000
(vii) Value of sugar and tea stocks and profit on sugar imported over and above quota ...	500,000,000
(viii) Revenue from enhanced price of cigarettes ...	500,000,000
(ix) Revenue from enhanced price of kerosene and petrol ...	100,000,000
Total revenue ...	7,799,068,531
Total expenditure ...	7,762,443,675

Appointments

13. (i) Corrigendum to item (iii) of paragraph 15 of Intelligence Summary No. 15: for "Koweit" read "Quetta."

(ii) Fazlullah Nabil, head of the third department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to be Persian Minister to Warsaw.

(iii) Dr. Qasim Ghani (F.O. 53) to be Persian Ambassador in Cairo in succession to Mahmud Jam.

British Interests

14. For some time past press attacks have been made on the Imperial Bank of Iran and demands for the cancellation of the bank's concession have been voiced. In a recent interview with the newspaper *Iran* (centre), the chief manager of the Imperial

Bank of Iran made the following six points:—

- The Imperial Bank had been established by virtue of a royal decree issued under Queen Victoria and had received no concessions from the Iranian Government, though later on it had been allowed by the latter Government to open branches in Iran and to issue bank notes. Thus the question of the bank's establishment was fundamentally an internal problem of Great Britain and no concessions were at stake on the Iranian side.
- In 1312 (1933) when the Bank Melli acquired the exclusive right of the note issue, the Imperial Bank's only concession came, automatically, to an end and the bank became one of the many foreign companies which were in business in Iran.
- The Imperial Bank would, therefore, continue its business as an ordinary company so long as the Iranian Government did not take a general decision to stop the activities of such foreign concerns.
- As for customs duties, income tax, &c., the Iranian Government had agreed to exempt the bank from such payments until 30th January, 1949, when the bank would comply with income tax regulations and so on.
- The difference concerning the Christian and Hijreh calendars, which had arisen between the bank and the Income Tax Department, was a minor and ordinary point to be solved amicably.
- In short, the Imperial Bank had no concessions to render and was not out to obtain concessions.

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No. 92

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 23

Period ended 17th June, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 215 of 19th June; Received 26th June)

Persian Affairs

Political

The Minister for War informed the British Military Attaché on 10th June that the Prime Minister had had a stormy meeting

with his Iran Democrat Party on 5th June. Many members had criticised Qawam's management of his party and his conduct of Government's affairs, and Malik-us-Shuara Bahar, a former Minister of

Education, in particular, had openly insulted him and called upon him to resign from leadership both of the Government and of the party. The main charge levelled at Qawam was corruption, and it seems that he was unwise enough to admit collecting money by irregular means, but he was careful to add that it was for the party's coffers and not for himself. While Qawam's detractors are as busy as ever spreading rumours of his precarious position and impending resignation, talk, which is less irresponsible, from many quarters on the subject of Cabinet changes is heard in increasing volume.

2. It is learnt from a reliable source that emissaries from the Prime Minister recently visited Seyyid Zia-ud-Din and offered him assistance, in the belief that he was financially embarrassed, and a free passage to the country of his choice, in the belief that his health had been impaired through his imprisonment. According to the same source, Seyyid Zia-ud-Din refused both offers. Subsequently one of the reputed emissaries informed the British Military Attaché that the Seyyid would be set free in the near future.

3. The Prime Minister has notified the Ministry of War that, owing to an improvement in security in Tehran, there is no longer any need to maintain a state of martial law. Martial law, therefore, will be lifted with effect from 17th June, 1947.

The Elections

4. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that the five successful candidates in the local elections were as follows:—

Nasir Khan Qashgai.
Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhr.
Muhammad Quli Qawami.
Razavizadeh.
Jawad Malikpur.

In case Nasir Khan decides to stand down, his seat will presumably go to the candidate next in order, i.e., Sadrzadeh.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan and Kurdistan

5. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 12th June that a skirmish had taken place a few days earlier between Persian troops and Mulla Mustafa Barzani (see paragraph 7 of last Intelligence Summary) at Shut J-38 C, R. 3545, on the main Khoi-Maku road. The Persian army had suffered casualties to the extent of thirty killed, and

the Barzanis were believed to have sustained comparable losses. Though the Chief of the General Staff did not mention the fact, His Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz reports from a military source that Mulla Mustafa has received some military assistance from the Jelali Kurds in the Maku area, among whom Soviet influence is believed to be strong.

Persian Gulf

6. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has informed His Majesty's Embassy that a saluting battery has been re-established at Bushire.

Fars

7. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports the G.O.C., 6th (Fars) Division, as stating that up to date some 800 rifles had been collected from the tribes, and that according to his estimate some 12,000 to 15,000 remained in tribal hands.

8. Gendarmerie posts have been re-established at Kamarij and Borasjan on the Shiraz-Bushire road.

Khuzistan

9. The Governor-General has requested the Ministry of the Interior to entrust the administration of martial law to senior police officers instead of to the military commanders, alleging in support of his request that the latter have committed excesses and indulged in corruption. While this may be true, there are little grounds for believing that the police would be any more moderate. The reason behind the request may well be personal jealousy between the Governor-General and the G.O.C.

The Persian Army

10. A press report states that the courts-martial assembled at Meshed to try some of the mutineers of August 1945 have sentenced two N.C.Os. to death, two to life imprisonment and one to fifteen years' hard labour. Two were acquitted.

The Court

11. His Imperial Majesty the Shah returned to the capital on 11th June. He received a wildly enthusiastic welcome from all classes of the populace. There is no doubt whatever that the royal tour has been a tremendous success. Political mischief-makers are trying to make capital out of a trivial incident which occurred in Tehran at the time of the Shah's return. So great was the crowd that the royal motor

car was unable to proceed along the specified route, and as His Imperial Majesty was due to receive the religious heads at his palace, he left his car and took a short cut on foot by a secluded lane. In order to do this he passed through the headquarters of the Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party Club.

Labour

12. Persia is to send a full delegation to the International Labour Conference at Geneva. The Government representative is engineer Habib Nafisi, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda, with two advisers. A delegate is also being sent by the employers and one by the workers. Each delegate has a number of advisers.

Appointments

13.—(i) Ghulam Husein Sadiqi to be vice-consul at Suleimaniyeh.

(ii) Abdurrahman Mir Fendereski to be consul-general at Shanghai.

(iii) Rakmatullah Mutamedi to be consul at Khaniqin.

Orders and Decorations

14. The Order of Humayun 1st Class has been bestowed by His Imperial Majesty the Shah upon the following:—

- (i) Mohsin Rais (F.O. 143), Persian Minister at Bagdad.
- (ii) Musa Nuri Isfandiari, Muwaffaq-us-Saltaneh (F.O. 7), Persian Ambassador at Angora.
- (iii) Fathullah Pakravan, Amir-i-Arfa (F.O. 124), Persian Minister at Rome.

British Interests

15. The following contracts have recently been awarded to United Kingdom firms:—

- (i) *Isfahan Thermal Power Station*—
Turbo-generators: Metropolitan Vickers.
Boilers: Yarrow and Co., Ltd.
- (ii) *Shiraz Water Supply*—
Cast-iron pipes: Stanton Iron Works, Ltd.
Valves and fittings: Blakeborough and Sons, Ltd.

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No. 93

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 24

Period ending 24th June, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 230 of 26th June; Received 4th July)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. On 19th June the Government resigned and Qawam-us-Sultaneh, at the request of the Shah, formed a new one which assumed office on 21st. It is Qawam's fifth Cabinet and is composed as follows:—

Prime Minister: Ahmad Qawam (Qawam-us-Sultaneh).
Minister of the Interior: General Fara-jullah Aqevli (F.O. 12).
Minister for Foreign Affairs: Anushir-van Sepahbudi (F.O. 157).
Minister for War: General Ahmad Aqa Amir-Ahmadi (F.O. 7).
Minister for National Economy: Abul Hassan Sadiqi.
Minister for Justice: Mustafa Adl. (Mansur-us-Sultaneh) (F.O. 1).

Minister for Finance: Abdul Husain Hazhir (F.O. 54).
Minister for Agriculture: Ahmad Husain Adl.
Minister for Health: Dr. Manuchihr Iqbal (F.O. 67).
Minister for Education: Dr. Isa Sadiq (Sadiq-i-A'lam) (F.O. 146).
Minister for Communications: Ghulam Husain Furuhar.
Minister for Posts and Telegraphs: Sayyid Ali Nasr.
Minister for Labour and Propaganda: Salman Assadi (F.O. 19).
Ministers without portfolio: Ali Asghar Hikmat (F.O. 58); Akbar Musavizadeh; Muhammad Ali Humayunjah (F.O. 60).

2. The cause of this sudden change of Cabinet was the charge of corruption made against the Qawam and his ministers by members of his own Democrat Party at party meetings. By this move he has rid himself of the more corrupt elements and has, at the same time, cast off some of the more inert members. The change is not considered to indicate any major change of policy.

3. The outstanding point of interest is the creation of a new ministry, that for National Economy. According to official documents published, it has been formed as the result of a recommendation made by the High Council of Planning. It absorbs the former Ministry of Commerce and Industry and assumes responsibility for the supervision of the execution of the seven-year plan, the centralisation of the affairs of all economic institutions, the execution of the economic and commercial policy of the Government, the study of foreign markets, the development of exports and the balance of imports, the protection of national industries and the supervision of Government factories, the control of foreign exchange and the control and stabilisation of prices.

4.—(a) Those marked (') were in the last Cabinet.

(b) For a personality note on Akbar Musavizadeh and Abul Hasan Sadiqi see summary No. 41 of 20th October, 1946, appendix. Personality notes on Ahmad Husain Adl, Syaid Ali Nasr and Ghulam Husain Furuhar are attached at appendix B to this summary.

5. Sepahbudi is at present in Paris, where he is Persian Ambassador, and Dr. Isa Sadiq is in London on business for the Tehran telephone company.

6. Attached at appendix A to this summary is the text of an interview accorded by Qawam-us-Sultaneh to a representative of the newspaper *Le Monde*. The interview is of some interest as showing the Prime Minister's way of thinking.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan-Kurdistan

7. The Chief of the General Staff gave the following information on the closing of the Barzani operations to the assistant military attaché on 28th June. After the encounter at Shut, reported in last week's summary, the Barzanis took refuge in the mountain massif north of Maku. Small Persian columns followed them up from the south while two main columns marched round the east and west sides of it to join

at the northern extremity. The Barzanis, who had abandoned much superfluous baggage and many animals, attempted to slip away to the frontier behind the eastern column. After a skirmish at Akh Gol Qishlak (J-38.C, R 3381) they succeeded in doing so. Pursued by the army they reached the Araxes river across which they swam in the neighbourhood of Karim-Beklyu (R 4685) after having abandoned part of their armament. Having crossed they surrendered to a nearby Russian frontier post and were removed into the interior by lorry the following day. The Persian Frontier Commissioner addressed a note of protest to his Russian colleague and the Divisional Commander did the same to the Russian Consul at Maku. A copy of this note has been passed by the military authorities to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs for transmission to the Russian Embassy. The following figures were given by the chief of the general staff:—

Barzanis escaped to Russia: 650, including Mullah Mustofa and 6 Iraqi officers.

Arms abandoned at the Araxes: 250 rifles, 20 sub-machine guns, 40,000 rounds of ammunition.

Barzanis killed during the latest operation: 75.

Tribal Affairs

8. Representatives of His Majesty's Government have been advocating for years the adoption by the Iranian Government of a constructive policy towards the tribes of the country. The first indication that such a policy has been adopted at last is contained in a radio announcement of the meeting of a "Commission for Welfare of the Tribes." This is the first that has been heard of this body. To make a commission of this sort really effective it is also necessary to have a council of tribal leaders. A proposition passed by such a body would then be a proposal made officially on behalf of what is a considerable percentage of the total population of the country, instead of being what can be represented to be a self-interested "demand" by the leaders of an isolated tribe.

Persian Army

9. It is announced in the press, and was confirmed in conversation with the assistant military attaché by the Minister for War, that the financial negotiations between the army and the United States Government

have been brought to a successful conclusion. The sum finally agreed upon is given at 25 million dollars, and the period of repayment as twelve years from 1951, the total bearing two to three per cent. interest. It is referred to in the press as a credit: but the Minister for War said in conversation that the agreement would require ratification by the Majlis and that the Iranian army commission were engaged on the selection of equipment so that it could be shipped with the minimum of delay after the ratification.

Persian Gendarmerie

10. Brigadier Husian Mushiri left Tehran for the United States on 18th June to join General Schwartzkopf and assist him in the selection of the gendarmerie share of the equipment being provided under the "credit" mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Brigadier Mushiri is Director of Operations, and Colonel Asifi is acting for him in his absence, which he expects to last six months.

11. Brigadier Mushiri, in conversation with the assistant military attaché before departure gave the present strength of the gendarmerie as 24,000. This is far above the figure of 15,000 which was agreed to as the authorised strength in March (see paragraph 13 of Summary No. 10) and Brigadier Mushiri was vague as to when the reduction would start. It appears that the decision was not as final as appeared to be the case at first.

British Interests

12. On 18th June a contract was signed between Messrs. Alexander Gibbs and Company with the Kuh-i-Rang Company for the first part of the project of taking water from the Karun River through into the Isfahan area. This first part, which represents a value of £500,000 comprised only the driving of a tunnel through the Kuh-i-Rang mountain. The second stage, comprising the construction of irrigation works, &c., is not included in the contract. The third part also uncovered by the contract, envisages the construction of a hydro-electric scheme.

Appointments—Civil

13. Zain-ul-Abidin Sadri to be Governor of Sari and Deputy Governor-General of the Second Ustan.

Isa Iskandari to be Governor of Gorgan.

Appendix A

Following is part of text of an interview given by the Prime Minister to representative of *Le Monde*.

Question: What date have you in mind for the opening of the Majlis?

Answer: There is no obstacle to the opening of the Majlis but we are waiting for the end of the elections in Azerbaijan and Fars; but it is possible that on account of the summer heat and the departure of Deputies to their constituencies there may be some delay in the opening of Parliament.

Question: If I am not mistaken your Government is a Government which has an absolute majority in the Majlis. The Democrat Party, of which you are the leader, was victorious in the elections. Consequently the programme of this party will undoubtedly be presented to the Majlis and put into effect. The Perso-Soviet Agreement of the 5th April, in accordance with which the formation of a Perso-Soviet Company for the exploitation of the oil of the North of Persia is envisaged, was signed by you. It may therefore be assumed that this agreement will be accepted by a Majlis in which there is a majority of the Democrat Party?

Answer: The programme of my party is in principle that of the execution of the seven-year plan which has been prepared and in that programme there is no mention whatever of the formation of an oil company. Nevertheless, regarding the agreement which I signed with the Soviets, this is an obligation and I do not desire to become known as a man who does not fulfil his promises, therefore nothing shall prevent me from submitting to Parliament the necessary proposals. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the circumstances are no longer the same as they were when that agreement was signed; a change has come about in that the representatives of the people have now been elected and the Majlis will shortly be opened. It is not possible for me to impose a particular point of view on these deputies who are free to form their own views and opinions. Were I to attempt to do so it is possible that the very principles on which agreement has been reached would be rejected by the Majlis, and such an event would be both unpleasant for me and the cause of displeasure to

a friendly neighbouring Power, that is to say, the U.S.S.R. Consequently, both signatories to this agreement must take into account the present situation and prepare a plan which, when put forward, will be capable of being discussed and accepted by public opinion and by Parliament. It follows that it is necessary that before the opening of the Majlis further discussions and study should take place.

Question: In the international press it has been stated that it is possible that countries who have interests in the oil of Persia may participate in the company to be formed to exploit the oil in northern Persia.

Answer: No, it is not so, and in the agreement in question nothing of this kind exists. The original agreement which I signed and shall submit to the Majlis contemplated the creation of a joint Perso-Soviet company.

Appendix B

Ahmad Husain Adl

He was born in Tabriz about 1895, the son of the later Adl-ul-Mulk. He is a brother of Mehdi and Mustafa Adl, the latter being the new Minister of Justice. He was partly educated in France and speaks a little English. He was Minister for Agriculture from March to July 1942. He was later charged with misappropriation of funds and was tried in the officials court, but was acquitted in 1944. In April 1945 he was serving on the Supreme Economic Council and in November of that year was once more appointed Minister for Agriculture in Hakimi's second Cabinet,

which remained in power until January 1946. When he was Minister he displayed a friendly and helpful attitude towards the British.

Sayyid Ali Nasr

An official about whom little is known. He was originally working in the Ministry for Finance. In January 1944 he was an Under-Secretary in the Ministry for the Interior and Acting Mayor of Tehran. He was then appointed Iranian Minister to China and was subsequently given the rank of ambassador when the status of the legation was raised to that of an embassy in May 1945. He was holding this appointment immediately prior to being created Minister.

Ghulam Husain Furuhar

Born in 1903. Educated at the School of Political Science, Tehran, and read economics and law at Berlin University. Entered Ministry of Justice in 1928 and held various appointments in that Ministry until 1934 when he was transferred to the Ministry of Finance. Was Director-General in the Ministry of Finance in 1940. In 1941 he was appointed to Germany to investigate commercial relations between Persia and Germany. After relations with Germany were severed he acted as economic counsellor to the Persian Legation in Switzerland. Returned to Persia early 1946, and in March of that year he was appointed Director-General of the Direct and Indirect Taxation Department and Internal Tax Department of the Ministry of Finance. Appointed Minister of Roads and Communications in December 1946 and again in June 1947.

Speaks German.

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No. 94

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 25

Period ending 1st July, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 236 of 2nd July; Received 11th July)

Persian Affairs

1. *Political.*—On 27th June the Prime Minister issued an official proclamation to the effect that His Imperial Majesty the Shah will open the 15th Majlis on 17th July. He warned the press that martial law would be reimposed unless the press

ceased to abuse the freedom which it had enjoyed since martial law was suspended on 16th June.

2. The Persian Minister to Syria and Lebanon, while on a visit to Amman, stated confidentially that his Government hopes to enter into diplomatic relations with Trans-

Jordan, and that he would probably be accredited to Amman as well as to Damascus and Beirut. No confirmation of this intended move is available in Tehran and it may well be merely an attempt on the part of Mr. Rahnema to increase his own importance.

Internal Security

3. *Azerbaijan.*—Nothing further has been heard of Mulla Mustafa Barzani since he and his followers crossed the Aras river into Russia. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz learned from a high military source that small boats, provided by the Russians, were awaiting the arrival of the fugitives but that, owing to the hot pursuit by Persian troops, many had to swim, leaving everything behind them. Some doubt is cast on the truth of this report by the fact that at this season of the year the British Military Attaché in 1935 found the Aras river fordable at Julfa, some 100 miles below the point at which the Barzanis are believed to have crossed. The Minister for War, on 28th June, expressed to the British Military Attaché his fears that Mulla Mustafa might, at some future date, re-enter Persia with Russian support and rekindle the flames of a Kurdish revolt. While the possibility of such a move cannot be ruled out, the Minister of War's fears appear to be exaggerated. It is galling to the Persian Army that this rebel should have inflicted severe casualties upon them and finally eluded capture. It is embarrassing for them to be forced to retain, say, three battalions in the area where, perhaps, one might have sufficed but, as for the resuscitation of the Kurdish Independence movement on a large scale, the Kurds of Persia, with the possible exception of the Jelali who are said to be under Russian influence, appear to realise that the fighting of the past three years has brought them no tangible benefits.

4. Martial law has been suspended in Mianeh and Maragheh.

5. *Bakhtiari.*—Abul Qasim Bakhtiari is still in Tehran. The Minister for War informed the B.M.A. on 28th June that when recommending a change in governorship to the Prime Minister he had found Qawam-us-saltaneh averse to any change. The Minister of War is confident of obtaining the support of General Aghevli, the new Minister of the Interior, for a proposal to instal a non-Bakhtiari governor supported by a sufficient strength of gendarmerie as the only method of putting an

end to the incessant squabbles and intrigues of the two rival branches of the tribe.

6. *Fars.*—The Minister for War informed the British military attaché on 28th June that Khosro Qashqai was busily attempting to avert the disarming of his tribe. He had realised that the large sum, said to be £60,000, which Nasir Khan had paid to the Prime Minister had successfully secured the election of three out of the four Qashqai brothers to the 15th Majlis for seats from Fars but that if disarmament was to be averted further disbursements must be made in a different quarter. The Minister for War believed that Khosro Qashqai was now concluding a deal with General Razmara, the Chief of the General Staff. The details, said General Ahmedi, were not yet to hand.

7. *Khuzistan.*—Reference paragraph 9 of Intelligence Summary No. 23. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports as follows:—

"Sarhang Mahmud Sami'i, who became Military Governor of Abadan in January last, was suddenly relieved on 19th May by Sarhang Azizullah Pishdad, who had been up to that date Military Governor of Ahwaz. Sarhang Sami'i had been successful and honest in his job and it is understood that he had quarrelled with the divisional commander, Sarhang Saqafi, for not having provided him with sufficient money. Pishdad has now been relieved in his turn by Sarhang Hasan Muinpur, who was until recently Iranian Military Attaché in Bagdad. It is reported that Muinpur is a good friend of Saqafi, having worked under him in the general staff. The present Military Governor of Ahwaz is Sargurd Afshar. It is not known what has happened to Pishdad.

"It appears that Saqafi has been making money on a scale which far surpasses the normal, and further scandals have come to light in military circles in the discovery of the vast sums which the Chief Prosecutor of the Military Court in Abadan, Sargurd Na'ima, and the conscription officer, Sargurd Zinati, have been making, out of which they are alleged to have paid Sarhang Saqafi his due. If Muinpur is the friend he is said to be it is to be presumed that graft will be continued on a large scale."

Persian Army

8. Brigadier-General Darakhshani, former commander of the 3rd (Azerbaijan) Division, has been sentenced to

life imprisonment by a military tribunal which has been sitting for the past three months. He has appealed against the sentence. Colonel Zariv and Major Mustashari, respective commanders of the Ardebil and Miandoab garrisons, were acquitted. It will be recalled that Brigadier-General Darakhshani was commanding in Tabriz at the time of the surrender of the Persian army garrison to the Azerbaijan Democrat rebels in November 1945. As stated at the time, Darakhshani would, at any rate before any British court, stand a very good chance of acquittal in the light of the incomprehensible orders which were sent to him by the General Staff on instructions from the Prime Minister of those days, Hakimi. They were to the effect that he should resist but avoid any clash with the Democrat forces. Since the latter had besieged his troops in their barracks and had prevented the entry of food and water, it is difficult to see how Darakhshani could have carried them out.

Labour

9. The report submitted by the W.F.T.U. delegation to Persia (see paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 16) has been accepted by the executive committee and general meeting of that body at its recent meeting in Prague. It will be recalled that Mr. Harries, the British delegate, at first proposed to sign a minority report but, later, agreed to sign the majority report with reservations. His reservations do not appear to have been put forward with any noticeable vigour at this meeting. The Persian Government, it is reliably reported, are not in any way perturbed at the one-sided, pro-Tudeh nature of the report, and would welcome the opportunity to refer the matter to United Nations Organisations, and expose the questionable activities of and wilfully erroneous conclusions drawn by El Aris and his colleagues while in Persia.

10. The Persian delegation led by Habib Nafisi has arrived at the I.L.O. conference at Geneva. The workers' delegates' credentials have been accepted and the delegation is taking full part in all discussions.

Communications

11. A press report states that 50 kilom. of the Tehran-Qum road have been asphalted and that the remaining 90 kilom. will be completed early in October.

12. Asphaltting of the Kerej-Qazvin road is proceeding rapidly and about 45 out of 65 miles have been completed. The work has been very badly done and no attempt has been made to smooth out the corrugations before laying the asphalt.

13. The portion between Hamadan and Assadabad on the Tehran-Baghdad road, laid by the British in the late war, has deteriorated sharply. No repairs are being done and after another winter's snow and rain the pot holes will reduce speed of passenger vehicles to 15 m.p.h. The worst portion is on the Assadabad pass (marked, for some unknown reason, on British survey maps as the "Shah" pass).

Appointments

14.—(i) His Majesty's Government have now given their agreement to the appointment of Mohsin Rais as Persian Ambassador to London (see paragraph 2 of Intelligence Summary No. 22). He is expected to arrive in London at the end of July. A note on him will be found in Foreign Office Personalities No. 143.

(ii) The newspaper *Kaihan* reports that Ali Akbar Musawizadeh, Minister without portfolio, has been appointed "Administrative Deputy Prime Minister."

Delegations

15. Dr. Khushbin, an adviser in the Ministry of Justice, has been appointed Persian delegate to the International Conference on Criminal Law Reform, which is to assemble at Brussels.

British Interests

16. His Majesty's Ambassador left Tehran by air on 27th June for a brief visit to Tabriz and returned on 30th June.

Swedish Interests

17. His Excellency Sven Harald Pousette has left on transfer. He had been Swedish Minister to Persia since December 1945, but had been in Tehran with the rank of chargé d'affaires since October 1941.

Corrigenda

- 18.—(i) Last Intelligence Summary, paragraph 7, for "Arazes" read "Araxes (Aras)."
- (ii) Last Intelligence Summary, paragraph 10, for "Husian" read "Husain."
- (iii) Last Intelligence Summary, paragraph 12, for "Gibbs and Company" read "Gibb and Partners."

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 26

Period ending 8th July, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 245 of 10th July; Received 16th July)

Persian Affairs

Political.—The past week or ten days has been remarkable for the growing volume and virulence of the criticism of the Prime Minister. There were some who thought that the chief cause of discontent lay in the dishonesty of Qawam-us-Saltaneh's supporters and yet the reshuffle of the Cabinet and the dropping of Aramish and Nikpay, allegedly the most corrupt, has in no way diminished the spate of criticism. There is good ground for believing that the Court is taking a hand. The success of the royal tour seems to have gone to the Shah's head and, egged on by General Yazdanpanah, his chief aide-de-camp and military adviser, he seems to be throwing his weight about in a manner in which he would not have dared to do a few weeks ago. The Prime Minister's political opponents, including many would-be Majlis Deputies deprived of their seats by the manner in which the elections were carried out, rose up to attack him, secure in the knowledge that martial law having been suspended they could not be arbitrarily incarcerated at his pleasure. The newspapers, too, free from the fear of suppression, gave vent to their pent-up feelings. As always, the Persians are more swayed by rhetoric than logic and they give Qawam-us-Saltaneh no credit for his achievements during his tenure of office. In the first flush of their freedom they gave full rein to their undoubted capacity for invective mistaking freedom for indiscipline, liberty for licence.

2. The Cabinet, at a meeting on 7th July, decided to reimpose martial law in Tehran. It is known that the Prime Minister was both incensed and alarmed at the recent press attacks upon him but he claimed, as justification for the reimposition of martial law, knowledge that certain subversive elements had planned acts of violence of the 17th July, the day fixed for the opening of the Majlis. According to the Minister for War he and Ali Asghar Hikmat only out of the entire Cabinet were opposed to the measure on the grounds that the capital was quiet and that during the past year martial law had been used, not to keep order in a disturbed area, but

solely as a device to silence criticism, suppress hostile newspapers and to incarcerate political opponents against whom no charges were framed and who were detained at the Prime Minister's pleasure under a vague clause relating to subversive acts against the safety of the realm. The Minister for War finally signed the decree but later withdrew his signature on learning that the Shah's permission had not been previously obtained. As Minister for War, he said, he could not agree to the measure without the prior consent of the Shah as Commander-in-chief of Persia's forces. The Prime Minister considered this unnecessary on the grounds that the Shah, when consulted on this matter on 25th June, had not vetoed such a decree but had only insisted that there should be prior warning (see paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary). As the Minister for War persisted in his opposition he was called upon to resign. General Ahmedi refused to do so. The Prime Minister, late as the hour was, thereupon sought an audience with the Shah and secured the latter's approval to the issue of the decree and to General Ahmedi's dismissal, subsequently toned down to resignation tendered and accepted.

3. There is reliable information to the effect that Qawam-us-Saltaneh did place his resignation in the hands of the Shah at the time of the Cabinet reshuffle but that the Shah insisted on his remaining in office until the Majlis be convened.

4. Rumours have been heard to the effect that after its convention on 17th July the Majlis will be adjourned till the end of the summer. The heat at this season (unbearable to the Persian who has lived in it all his life!) and the desire of the landowning Deputies to visit their estates at harvest time are given as the reasons. Constitutionally the Majlis takes legal shape when $\frac{1}{2} + 1$, i.e., sixty-nine of the Deputies' credentials have been accepted. After this the Prime Minister tenders his resignation and a secret ballot is held to determine the Majlis' choice of his successor.

5. Three days of last week were devoted to the celebration of the second anniversary of the founding of the Prime Minister's

Iran Democrat Party. Meetings were held. The Prime Minister gave a lengthy broadcast and on Friday a mass gathering of the party marched past him in the main square. Attendance was poor and it is said that as much as 5s. a head was being paid to volunteers to ride in the bedecked lorries.

Internal Security

6. *Kerman*.—No Governor-General for the VIIIth Ustan has as yet been appointed in place of Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir who has been elected as a Majlis Deputy for one of the Fars seats.

7. His Britannic Majesty's Consul reports that most of the property stolen by bandits when the consul's car was held up near Rafsinjan in February has been recovered. He reports the replacement, presumably on the grounds of incompetency in dealing with this affair, of Colonel Ishqi the Officer Commanding, Gendarmerie, by a Lieut.-Colonel Mohd Husain Shafaqi.

8. The Indian driver of a British Embassy courier truck was involved on 30th June in a dispute with a gendarme near Yazd and sustained a gunshot wound in the hand. The truck was also hit. Enquiries are proceeding.

9. *Azerbaijan*.—The Persian press reports the capture of Hasan-zadeh "Under-Secretary" of Finance in the Azerbaijan rebel Government. He had been at large in disguise ever since the reoccupation of the province.

10. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that the local newspaper *Faryad* has been suspended by the Military Government for publishing untrue and alarmist accounts of Soviet-American relations.

11. His Majesty's Consul-General also reports that a committee of enquiry sent by the General Staff has arrived from Tehran to investigate the circumstances in which Mulla Mustafa Barzani succeeded in eluding pursuit and making good his escape into Soviet territory. Some criticism of the army in having allowed him to escape has appeared in the press and the Chief of the General Staff is known to hold the view that the army's prestige has suffered. An unconfirmed, but probably true, report says that on account of their negligence over this affair General Humayuni, General Officer Commanding, Kurdistan, has been deprived of a decoration and Colonel Nesari, command-

ing one of the columns, has been compulsorily retired.

The Elections

12. The following have been elected for Kurdistan:—

- (i) Farajullah Asif, Amir-i-Muazzam.
- (ii) Husain Vakili.
- (iii) Nasir Quli Ardalan.

Numbers (i) and (iii) represented this constituency in the last Majlis.

Number (ii) replaces Abdul Hamid Sanandaji, a local landowner and certain of election but who was imprisoned by Qawam-us-Saltaneh as a political opponent.

Appointments

13.—(i) Dr. Fakhr-ud-din Shadman to be director of the Iran Insurance Company. He had been assistant to Fathullah Nuri Isfandiari when the latter was Persian Government Commissioner with the A.I.O.C. in London. On Fathullah's appointment as Minister in Washington he had hoped to succeed him in London but resigned in disgust at the appointment of Dr. Nezam-ud-din Imami.

(ii) Nasrullah Behnam head of the Economic Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to be Persian Consul-General in Baku.

(iii) Reza Fahimi to be Governor of Zahidan.

(iv) Lutf Ali Qawami to be Governor of Bushire.

(v) Ali Akbar Farouhandeh to be First Secretary at the Persian Legation at Beirut.

Resignations

14.—(i) Dr. Kaviani from the post of Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education.

(ii) Abdul Husein Nikpur from the post of President of the Tehran Chamber of Commerce. He is a close friend of the Prime Minister and has given him valuable help by securing for him the support of the mercantile community.

Diplomatic

15. Hasan Ali Kamal Hidayet, Nasr-ul-Mulk, Persian Ambassador at Kabul, has arrived in Tehran on leave. It is said that he is too old for his job and that he will be replaced.

16. With the appointment of Sipahbudi as Minister for Foreign Affairs the Paris embassy is vacant. Mahmud Jam, till

recently Persian Ambassador in Cairo, hopes to get the appointment.

Iraqi Interests

17. Muhammad Salim Razi, the newly appointed Iraqi Minister to Persia, arrived in Tehran on 1st July.

Egyptian Interests

18. An unconfirmed report states that the Persian Government have given their agreement to the appointment of Abul Fath Asal Bey as Egyptian Ambassador to Persia.

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No. 96

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 27

Period ended 15th July, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 260 of 16th July; Received 24th July)

NOTE.—"M.A." followed by a number in brackets after the name of a Persian officer in this and succeeding Intelligence Summaries refers to the publication "Military Supplement to Foreign Office Personalities in Persia, 1947," and which supersedes "Military Attaché's Personalities in Persia" (1937).

Persian Affairs

Political

1. It is learnt from a reliable source that the Prime Minister's health has been bad again and that his doctors have advised a serious operation in the near future—presumably as soon as the new Majlis has been legally constituted.

2. Some ninety Deputies are believed to have signed a pledge to support the Prime Minister in the new Majlis.

3. General Farajullah Aghevli (F.O. 12, M.A. 26) resigned on 9th July from the Ministry of the Interior. His resignation was not, as was at first thought, a gesture of sympathy with his military colleague, General Ahmedi, but was due to his insistence on the removal of Mashayekhi, the notoriously corrupt Mayor of Tehran. When the Prime Minister refused to agree to this, General Aghevli, who has a well-deserved reputation for honesty, resigned. General Aghevli retains his post as Governor of the Banque-i-Sipah (army bank). Feriduni, Permanent Under-Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior, is administering its affairs provisionally.

4. Though martial law has been reimposed (see paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary) the curfew has not been reintroduced.

5. The Ministry of Labour and Propaganda is to be renamed "The Ministry of Labour and Information."

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6. The following daily newspapers have been suppressed for attacking the Prime Minister and his Government: *Iqdam*, *Atish*, *Dad*, *Qiyam-i-Iran*, *Saday-i-Watan* and the weekly *Sharof*.

The Elections

7. The following results have been announced:—

- (i) The resignation of Nasir Khan Qashqai (foretold in paragraph 4 of Intelligence Summary No. 23). Mehdi Sadrzadeh gets the vacated seat.
- (ii) Muhammad Said, Said-ul-Vizareh (F.O. 150), for Rezaieh. He was Prime Minister from March to November 1944.
- (iii) Aram Budagian for the Northern Armenians.

Internal Security

Caspian Provinces

8. His Majesty's Vice-Consul at Resht reports as follows:—

(i) As far as is known, the Persians have no wireless stations in their Caspian Sea provinces. The only wireless sending and receiving set is that on the Shah's yacht *Shahsavar* at Pahlevi.

(ii) The Russians, on the other hand, have wireless stations at:—

- (a) Bandar Shah.
- (b) Nau Shahr.
- (c) Manjil (4 miles south of Rudbar).
- (d) Pahlevi (three):—

- (i) On east of harbour near Grand Hotel.
- (ii) On west of harbour for meteorological purposes.
- (iii) On airfield—small set.

According to reports, all are operated exclusively by Russians.

Note by British Military Attaché:—

The Persian General Staff maintains a W/T link with the Brigade Headquarters at Resht.

Fars

9. The American Ambassador told the British Military Attaché on 14th July that General Razmara, the Chief of the General Staff, had changed his attitude towards the Qashqai abruptly during the past week and on 13th July had given an ultimatum to Khosro and Muhammad Husain Qashqai (both now in Tehran) on the subject of handing in their arms. This may be true but it does not appear probable that the Prime Minister, with the country in its present state, his own position none too strong and the Majlis about to be convened in a day or two, would have allowed the army to embark on an operation which might prove costly in time, treasure and men. It seems more likely that this was an opening gambit by General Razmara to heighten Qashqai nervousness and to increase the bid they will make to him to avert disarmament (see paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 25).

The Persian Army

10. Sartip Muhammad Husein Jehanbani, the administrative assistant to the Minister for War, is officiating as Minister for War. It is learnt unofficially that Mahmud Jam was offered the portfolio but that he has refused it, some say on the grounds that he would prefer to succeed Anushirwan Sipahbudi as Ambassador in Paris, others that he is unwilling to be a mere figurehead in a Ministry shorn of many of its responsibilities (see paragraph 11 below).

11. In paragraph 11 of Intelligence Summary No. 19 it was stated that His Imperial Majesty the Shah had promised on his return from Azerbaijan to re-examine the dispute between the Minister for War and the Chief of the General Staff concerning the responsibility for the administration of the divisional supply depots. In paragraph 14 of Intelligence Summary No. 18 it was also foretold that the Chief of the General Staff would try to remove from the Ministry of War into his own control other responsibilities. Both these have come to pass and on 12th July the Chief of the General Staff showed

to the British Military Attaché a diagrammatic layout of the revised organisation. The Ministry of War now retains only the following departments:—

- (a) The Ministry's secretariat and parliamentary section.
- (b) Finance, including the budget.
- (c) Armament and purchase.
- (d) Military Engineering Services.
- (e) The Inspectorates.

All other services and departments, including medical, veterinary, transport, have been placed under the control of the General Staff.

12. The following general officers have been retired:—

- (i) Sartip Hadi Atabai, of the Medical Directorate, banished to Kerman by the Allies in the late war. Was married to a daughter (Hamdam-us-Saltaneh) of Reza Shah by his first wife (not a queen).
- (ii) Sarlashgar Abdur Reza Afkhami (M.A. 2).
- (iii) Sarlashgar Muhsin Diba (M.A. 59).
- (iv) Sartip Ruhullah Kaikavusi (M.A. 86).

(Though a cousin of Amanullah Jehanbani and of Muhammad Husain Jehanbani, this officer's family name is as stated and not Jehanbani as given in M.A. 86.)

- (v) Sartip Reza Quli Kerim-Qavanlu (M.A. 90).
- (vi) Sartip Ghulam Husain Naqdi (M.A. 137).

Twenty-seven colonels have also been placed on the retired list.

13. Three Persian army officers who had deserted to the Azerbaijan rebel forces have been apprehended in Ahar.

The Persian Police

14. A press report states that \$2 million out of the \$30 million credit is to be earmarked for police requirements and that a Persian police officer is to visit the United States shortly to select the equipment needed.

Administration

15. An additional sum of 12 million rials has been voted for the Ministry of the Interior to enable it to meet the extra

expenditure incurred over the reorganisation of the administration in Azerbaijan, the creation of new sub-governorates in Dasht-i-Gorgan Shushtar, Nehavend and Dizful and other administrative groupings in Kerman and Baluchistan.

The Court

16. The Shah having agreed to recognise the marriage of Her Royal Highness Princess Shams, the latter's husband returned to Tehran last week from the United States and France. His first name is Mehrdad and his family name is now Pahlbud, but was formerly Mimbashian, he being a grandson of a bandmaster of that name in the old Persian Cossack brigade.

Appointments

17.—(i) Seifullah Nawab as Governor-General of the VIIIth (Kerman) Ustan vice Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, elected a Majlis Deputy. (Requires confirmation.)
(ii) Sartip Nadir Batmangalij (M.A. 43) to be Director of Transport vice Sartip Abdul Ali I'temad-Muqaddam (M.A. 83).

Decorations

18. The following have been awarded the police medal for their services in connexion

with the administration of martial law in Tehran:—

- (i) General Ahmedi, late Minister of War, 1st class.
- (ii) General Razmara, Chief of the General Staff, 1st class.
- (iii) Brigadier Muzaffari, Military Governor of Tehran, 2nd class.

Obituary

19. In a road accident on 10th July near Hamadan, Dr. Husain Muavin, a Deputy in the 14th Majlis for one of the Kermanshah seats. He was married to one of the daughters of Vossuq-ud-Dowleh and was therefore a nephew by marriage to Qawam-us-Saltaneh. Having been re-elected for the same constituency for the 15th Majlis his death will necessitate a by-election.

Tailpiece

Persia Irredenta

20. From the newspaper *Kasra* (moderate Left) dated 8th July: "The Irano-Indian border has always been the River Indus and Baluchistan the port of Iran. Baluchis are Iranians who must join the mother country and we should not wait until Britain with its own accord recognises our rights."

Tehran, 15th July, 1947

E. 6849/17/34

No. 97

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 28

Period ending 22nd July, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 265 of 23rd July; Received 30th July)

Persian Affairs

Political

The fifteenth session of the Majlis was formally inaugurated by the Shah on 17th July. He made a short speech which was devoid of any points of interest and there were no incidents; 105 Deputies were present. After electing Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir (F.O. 59), as temporary President, six investigating committees were formed to examine the Deputies' credentials and the Majlis adjourned until 27th July.

2. Reference paragraph 10 of last week's summary. Mahmud Jam (F.O. 75) has now accepted the portfolio of the Ministry for War and assumed his

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appointment on 17th July. The post of Minister for the Interior remains vacant with M. Feriduni officiating. It is announced in the press that the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Sepahbudi, has obtained permission to postpone his departure from Paris for two months. M. Humayunjah is acting Minister in his absence.

3. It is reported in the press that Muzaffar Firuz (F.O. 50) has resigned from his appointment of Persian Ambassador in Moscow. He has already been absent from it for some weeks, having been on leave in Geneva. His resignation is retrospective from his date of departure. His successor is M. Fathullah Pakravan

(F.O. 124), at present Persian Minister in Rome.

Elections

4. Dr. Ahmad Matin Daftari (F.O. 92) has been elected as Deputy for Mishkin-shahr.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

5. There have been rumours of discontent over the election results, but it is now said that these are to be allowed to stand, though, His Majesty's Consul reports, the people of the province consider that only Sa'id and Taqizadeh out of the elected Deputies are likely to serve their interests. His Majesty's Consul also reports increasing discontent with the civil administration, which is considered to be growing more corrupt daily and to be worse than in the days of Reza Shah.

6. His Majesty's Consul, Tabriz, reports that the wife of the ex-Azerbaijan Democrat General Milanian has been

spreading Russian propaganda in Tabriz. When protests moved the local authorities to take the step of trying to arrest her she took refuge in the Russian consulate. Further action against her is not expected.

Appointments

Military

7. Sartip Muhammad Baqir Hushmand Afshar (M.A. 5) to be head of the Ordnance Directorate, *vice* Sarlashgar Sayyid Muhammad Mir-Jalali (M.A. 114).

8. Sarhang Muhammad Davalu (M.A. 58) to command the Ardabil Brigade, *vice* Sartip Nadir Batmanqilij (M.A. 43).

Civil

9. M. Hikmat Sami'i, Governor of Isfahan, to be acting Governor-General, *vice* Abul Qasim Amini, elected to the Majlis.

The Press

10. Four more newspapers have been suppressed, *i.e.*, *Falak*, *Rusta*, *Yek Dunya* and *Nehzat*.

E 7108/17/34

No. 98

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 29

Period ending 29th July, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 276 of 30th July; Received 6th August)

(Secret)

Persian Affairs

Political

The six sub-committees appointed to scrutinise the credentials of the Deputies completed their task to the point when they were in a position to present to the Majlis, through their *rapporteurs*, a list of credentials recommended for acceptance, rejection or for further examination. Such a meeting of the Majlis, its second, was held on 27th July, when the credentials of seventy-four Deputies were accepted. The following fourteen were contested:—

Machayekhi: Rey.
Abulfath Qahraman: Chahreza.
Dr. Amini: Tehran.
Kohbud: Savodj Bolagh.
Manouchehr Kolbadi: Sari.
Massoud Sabeti: Meched.
Sharifzadeh: Sari.
Haerizadeh: Sabzevar.
Abdol Husain Nikpur: Tehran.

Yunes Vahabzadeh: Meched.
Abdolqadir: Sabzevar.
Sadeghi: Tehran.
Seyed Hashem Vakil: Tehran.
Ahmad Dehghan: Khalkhal.

Some of the above are of political importance, *e.g.*, Dr. Ali Amini. Some are reputed to have paid heavily to the Democrat Iran Party's friends, *e.g.*, Kohbud, the merchant. Some are close friends of the Prime Minister, *e.g.*, Nikpur, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the non-acceptance of the credentials of these fourteen prominent individuals may be the first symptoms of revolt against the Prime Minister's authority on the part of the Majlis.

2. It is learnt on good authority that the Prime Minister does not favour the election of Taqizadeh as President of the Majlis and would prefer Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, ex-Governor-General of Kerman and lately elected to a Majlis seat for Fars.

3. The official news agency Fars states that it is authorised to deny certain recent rumours to the effect that Qawam-us-Saltaneh intends to go abroad for medical treatment.

The Elections

4. The following provincial results have been announced:—

Bam.—Ali Akbar Salar Behzadi in place of Lutfali Rafii, who died soon after election.

Ahar.—Ali Akbar Imami Ahari, son of a local mullah, an employee in the Ministry of Justice.

Internal Security

Khuzistan

5. His Majesty's Consul at Khorram-shahr reports a recrudescence of Tudeh activity in the A.I.O.C.'s installations at Abadan. He gives three causes for this, viz.: firstly, the recent recognition by the W.F.T.U. of the Tudeh union as the only democratic trade union in Persia; secondly, a recent rise in the cost of living; and, thirdly, the introduction by the A.I.O.C. of certain compulsory deductions from workers' wages in conformity with the recently enacted Labour Law.

Azerbaijan

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that Persian troops have been sent from Maku and Rezaieh to Merivan on the Perso-Iraqi border to keep an eye on Sheikh Mahmud.

Fars

7. There are many rumours current in Tehran concerning the impending action by the Persian army against the Qashqai. So far there is no evidence to stultify the opinion expressed in the last sentence of paragraph 9 of Intelligence Summary No. 27. The fears which the Prime Minister is believed to entertain regarding General Razmara's intention to start large-scale disarmament operations against the Qashqai appear, at least for the moment, to be exaggerated. In conversation with the British Military Attaché on 26th July General Razmara denied any reinforcement of the Fars forces over the figure of last year except for a slight increase due to the resumption of conscription, made possible by the re-establishment of the various garrisons after the collapse of the Fars revolt of last autumn. General

Razmara said that disarmament of the Khamseh, Hamasari and coastal tribes was proceeding slowly. Even those tough customers the Boir Ahmedi had handed in some rifles. He was confident that the Qashqai could also be induced to do so without recourse to military operations provided their leaders were removed. The army, therefore, said Razmara, had decided to order Nasir Khan and Khosro abroad for a holiday. The former had already resigned his seat in the Majlis and the latter must do so, too, as the army would not tolerate as a Majlis Deputy a man who had brought about the death of Persian army officers in action. Malik Mansur was already abroad on medical treatment and this would leave only Muhammad Husain of the four brothers to represent the tribe in Tehran. When questioned by the British Military Attaché firstly as to the Prime Minister's possible reactions to a plan to reject the election credentials of a Deputy who was believed to have subscribed heavily to the party funds and, secondly, as to the apparent violation in the adoption of the Chief of the General Staff's plan of the general amnesty proclaimed after the collapse of the Fars revolt of last autumn (paragraph 10 (X) of Intelligence Summary No. 41 of 1946), the Chief of the General Staff replied that, though the Prime Minister was certain to show opposition, the Shah was adamant on the question and considered that in the unseating and expulsion of Khosro Qashqai the army's prestige was at stake.

8. A commission composed of several Cabinet Ministers, the Chief of the General Staff and the G.O.C., Fars Division, and presided over by the Prime Minister, met recently to make plans for the improvement of security, education, communications, agriculture and economics of Fars. A sum of 70 million rials was voted.

Persian Army

9. General Schwarzkopf, American adviser-in-chief to the Persian gendarmerie, while in the United States, is believed to have spoken his mind freely to the Persian Ambassador on the subject of the hostility to, and non-collaboration with, the American military and gendarmerie missions shown by General Razmara, the Chief of the General Staff. These comments were communicated to the Shah, who assured the American Ambassa-

dor that General Razmara was not in the least hostile to either missions. General Grow, the military adviser-in-chief, told the British Military Attaché that, perhaps as the result of instructions from the Shah, General Razmara had of late been more forthcoming and had, after four years of fruitless urging by General Ridley and himself, accepted the American mission's suggestions for the better administration of the transport, a notoriously corrupt and inefficient department. General Grow was not over optimistic as to the duration of this new attitude on General Razmara's part. As to the recent transfer of departments and responsibilities from the Ministry of War to the General Staff (see paragraph II of Intelligence Summary No. 27), General Grow said he does not attach much importance to these as they sprung from political causes which were no concern of his. As long as his mission was allowed to investigate and improve it mattered not whether the department selected for overhaul belonged to the one or to the other.

10. It will be remembered that in August 1946 the Prime Minister, at the conclusion of a long communiqué on the subject of his policy and programme, promulgated the following rules:—

- (i) For the future all contact with embassies and legations is prohibited to all Persians except State officials, whose duties require them to enter into relations with foreign missions and who have been authorised to do so by their official superiors. Those who contravene this injunction will be at once dismissed.
- (ii) Persians not in State employ nor connected with foreign missions shall abstain from all contacts with them.

The imposition of this ban was popularly supposed to be the work of the egregious Muzaffar Firuz. Though, with his departure to Moscow as Persian Ambassador, the ban fell into partial desuetude, it has never been officially lifted. Now there are clear indications that it is being reimposed in the Persian army and gendarmerie circles. Some months ago foreign service attachés received a letter from the Chief of the General Staff to the effect that invitations from them to Persian army officers should be sent through the medium of the general staff. Recently

the American Ambassador was informed by one of the United States advisory missions to the gendarmerie that all Persian officers of that force had been ordered to refrain from intercourse with foreigners. The Shah, in the course of an audience granted to the American Ambassador, admitted the issue of the order and also of its extension to the army. His Majesty hastened to explain that the American missions were not affected as their officers were regarded as employees of the Persian Government. The Shah further explained that, though he was confident that other foreign embassies, legations or consulates would never attempt, under the guise of hospitality, to suborn a Persian officer or to tamper with his loyalty, the Russian Consul-General at Tabriz had so abused his position with the result that no less than twenty-four of his officers had joined the Azerbaijan rebel movement or the equally rebellious cause of Mulla Mustafa Barzani. History would seem to be repeating itself and, as in the days of Reza Shah, others suffer for Russian sins.

Persian Gendarmerie

11. General Schwarzkopf, American adviser-in-chief, has returned to Persia from the United States.

Appointments

A.—Civil

12.—(i) Khosro Iqbal to be Assistant Persian Government Commissioner with the A.I.O.C. in London. He is a brother of Dr. Iqbal, Minister of Health. He was interned by the Allies during the war for pro-German activities and for virulent attacks against the Allies in his newspaper *Nabard*, and later *Iran-i-Ma*. He was released on giving a guarantee that he would refrain from these attacks. He gave the undertaking but did not honour it. Later he became a close associate of the Soviet Embassy. An unprincipled rogue.

(ii) Ali Akbar Mir Shah to be Governor of Saveh.

(iii) Hadi Shahnawaz to be Governor of Shahreza.

B.—Military

Sartip Husain Mahin (M.A. 102), commandant of the officers' training college, to be General Officer Commanding 8th (Khorassan) Division, *vice* Sartip Ali Akbar Shari (M.A. 178).

The Court

13. His Imperial Majesty the Shah proceeded by aeroplane to his summer camp in the Lar valley on 23rd July for a week's rest, but returned on 26th July. It is said that he wished to be in Tehran to watch events when the Majlis held their first session on 27th July.

14. Her Royal Highness Princess Shams Pahlevi is making an extensive tour of Azerbaijan in connexion with public charities.

Russian Interests

15. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 26th July that during the past month no less than fourteen fugitives from Soviet territory had entered Persia. The majority had crossed the frontier in the thickly-wooded area near Astara. Six of them were serving soldiers. Only two of these were Azerbaijanis, the remainder being natives of the Crimea and White Russia serving in the Caucasus. They gave as the reason for their desertion the inadequacy of their rations and the appalling conditions prevailing in the Red Army. They are at present under detention in the custody of the military police.

E 7380/17/34

No. 99

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 30

Period ending 5th August, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 292 of 6th August; Received 13th August)

Persian Affairs

Political

The credentials of some of the fourteen Deputies enumerated in paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary have now been accepted by the Majlis, but new objections have been raised to others. In short, the Majlis has been having a wonderful time. In this, as in most Persian games, the rules are not very clear nor is too close an observance of them necessary. The first step is for a Deputy to secure acceptance of his own credentials by intensive lobbying among his friends and the offer of his support for the future in return for theirs. Once his credentials are accepted the Deputy has scored a "base" from which unassailable position he can proceed to object vociferously to the credentials of

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The Russians had, according to the Chief of the General Staff, demanded their extradition, but the Persian Government had refused on the grounds that the Soviet Government, when asked by the Persian Government to extradite the Azerbaijan rebel fugitives and, more recently, Mulla Mustafa, had refused to do so. One statement made to the Persian interrogating officer by one of the military deserters is hardly credible. It was to the effect that some of Mulla Mustafa's retainers had been sent by the Russians to join Albanian guerillas fighting the Greeks.

16. The Persian Government has recently shown its dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the Russian Caspian fisheries concession. That the Persian directors on the board should have had no say whatever in the conduct of the concern was to be expected, but it is surprising that they were not even in a position to give their own Government the figures relating to the annual catch, its value, the amount exported and the net profits. The Persian Government has now taxed the board with the non-fulfilment of recent labour legislation. The concession is due to come up for periodical review in about ten months' time.

others, including those from whom he received support and to whom he pledged his own. If the candidate objected to buys off the objectors several points are scored. If he ultimately wins his seat the objectors have at least the satisfaction of having held up the country's parliamentary business for a week.

2. During the scrutiny of the credentials a most violent attack was made on Hasan Taqizadeh, till recently Persian Ambassador in London. It was led by Abbas Iskandari, the Hamadan Deputy and a cousin of Iraj Iskandari, the Tudeh boss. The part which Taqizadeh was called upon to play as his country's representative in London during the Azerbaijan crisis would account for his unpopularity with the Tudeh and their Russian masters, but equally violent opposition came from some of the Right-

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wing Deputies, who are members of the Prime Minister's party and whose opposition, it is believed, was directed by the Prime Minister himself as a manoeuvre to prevent the subsequent election of Taqizadeh to the presidential chair by procuring the rejection of his credentials. As stated in paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary the Prime Minister would prefer the pliability of Sardar Fakhir to the rugged independence of Taqizadeh. Among the many insulting things said about him two rather quaint accusations were made. The first was that in the days of the Persian revolution of 1905-06 Taqizadeh, as one of the leaders in the struggle for the Constitution, had taken refuge ("bast") in the British Legation. That he and several others did so and thereby saved themselves from the certain vengeance of the reactionary Muhammad Ali Shah is true, but Taqizadeh's action was hailed as proof that he was the paid agent of a foreign Power. The second charge was that as Minister of Finance he had accepted a bribe of several millions of pounds in return for which he had renewed the A.I.O.C. concession in the days following its unilateral cancellation by Reza Shah. Documents purloined from the State archives were said to afford proof of this, but subsequent examination disclosed the fact that the sums were actually paid into the Persian treasury as royalties. The attack collapsed and Taqizadeh's credentials were finally accepted.

3. From the activities of the Majlis during the past ten days it is clear that the Prime Minister's authority over his Democrat Iran Party is weakening and some competent observers go so far as to say that the party is threatened with disintegration. Some thirty or forty Deputies are in open revolt and are prepared, if ordered to do so, to follow the Shah against the Prime Minister. This revolt may be attributed, in part, to the fractious mood engendered among the Deputies in this, as in past Majlises, by the scrutiny of each other's credentials (see paragraph 1 above) but much more to the Persian character which militates against cohesion and discipline.

4. It is learned on very good authority that at the end of July Muzaffar Firuz telegraphed to his Government on the subject of the oil agreement. It would appear, therefore, that, unless the communication was made privately, Muzaffar Firuz has not resigned, as stated in para-

graph 3 of Intelligence Summary No. 28, but on return from leave has resumed his appointment. An unreliable source informed the British Military Attaché that the Prime Minister was determined to retain Muzaffar Firuz in Moscow and had cancelled the appointment of Fathullah Pakravan as his successor.

5. The Prime Minister has issued a statement deploring the widespread corruption in Government departments and announcing the steps he is taking to eradicate it. Five investigating committees are to be set up to work in the following ministries:—

- (a) The Ministry of Finance, especially the Rationing and Income Tax Departments.
- (b) The Ministry of Agriculture, especially the Forest Department.
- (c) The Ministry of Roads and the Railway Department.
- (d) The Ministry of National Economy and the Industrial Bank.
- (e) The Tehran Municipality.

6. The Persian newspaper *Kaihan*, quoting a Brazzaville news broadcast, announces that Peshaveri has been killed and Ghulam Yahya seriously injured in a motor accident in Baku. (These two leaders of the Azerbaijan rebellion fled to Russia when the Government forces re-occupied Azerbaijan.) No confirmation of this piece of news is available in Tehran or likely to come out of Russia.

The Elections

7. The following provincial results are announced:—

Maragheh:

- (i) Fath Ali Afshar.
- (ii) Dr. Maleki.

Ardebil: Haji Mehdi Batmanghalij.

Mishkin: Dr. Matin Daftari.

Saqqiz: Muhammad Abbasi.

The Persian Army

8. An order issued by the General Staff forbids the marriage of Persian army officers without the prior consent of the General Staff. In private conversation with an officer, the British Military Attaché was told that this order was designed to prevent Persian army officers contracting marriages with foreigners, "especially Russians." General Razmara's xenophobic curtain (see paragraph 10 of last Intelligence Summary) thus descends a little lower.

Communications

9. The Persian press announces a decision by the Council of Ministers to allot a sum of 2 million rials for the construction of a coastal road from Bushire to Bandar Abbas, a distance of approximately 450 miles. There is a real need for this road as, without it, communications between the garrisons scattered on this coast between these two parts can only be effected by sea or by a long detour into the hinterland, i.e., Bushire-Shiraz-Sirjan-Bandar Abbas, a distance of some 700 miles. A more direct route via Shiraz-Fasa-Jahrum-Lar is only about 600 miles but is a natural road and impassable after rain. The chief works to be constructed on the new coastal road will, apart from surfacing throughout, consist of crossings for the Mund river, the tidal river near Daiyir, and, possibly, the Mehran river near Lingeh.

Appointments

- 10.—(i) Mahmud Mantaqi to be Governor of Shahrud.
- (ii) Reza Fahimi, formerly Governor of Bushire, to be Governor of Zahidan.

Resignations

11. Abul Hasan Sadiqi from the post of Minister of National Economy on election to the Majlis.

Indian Interests

12. Mrs. Vijyalakshmi Pandit, Ambassador designate to the U.S.S.R., arrived in Tehran by air with her suite on 4th August on her way to Moscow.

French Interests

13. Lieut.-Colonel Chavonin, French Military Attaché, has left for France. He informed the British Military Attaché that he would be absent for about a month, and was proceeding on a liaison visit to discuss his recent visit to Kabul, to which capital he is also accredited. Lieut.-Colonel Chavonin has been indulging in much anti-American talk lately to which General Razmara, the Chief of the General Staff, is always a ready listener.

Yugoslav Interests

14. A Yugoslav economic mission is visiting Persia.

Russian Interests

15. Major Veniamine Malighine, assistant Russian Military Attaché has left. The Russian Military Attaché's staff now stands at two, viz.: Lieut.-Colonel Krachevski, assistant military attaché, acting military attaché, and Major Kassorine, assistant military attaché.

Corrigendum

16. Paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary: After "Abdolqadir" insert "Azad."

E 7679/17/34

No. 100

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 31

Period ending 12th August, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 306 of 13th August; Received 21st August)

Persian Affairs

Political.—The coincidence of four days of holidays during the past week has resulted in a lowering of the Majlis tempo and tempers. Later in the week feelings again ran high, some Deputies claiming that the election of the presidential body of the Majlis should now be taken up while others insisted on the prior completion of the scrutiny of the remaining credentials (see paragraph 2 below). Both sides base their claim on the laws governing Majlis procedure, which document, like the Persian Constitution, appears to have been

drafted mainly with an eye to subsequent equivocation.

2. The *Journal de Téhéran*, in its issue of 12th August, gives the situation regarding the Deputies' credentials as follows:—

(a) Still under objection:—

- Mashayekhi for Rey.
- Khoilar for Tabriz.
- Haerizadeh for Sabzavar.
- Iskandari for Hamadan.
- Gulbadi for Sari.
- Kohbud for Saujbulagh.
- Qahrman for Shahreza.
- Wahabzadeh for Meshed.
- Sharifzadeh for Sari.

(b) Scrutiny completed but not yet presented to the Majlis:—

Salman Assadi for Meshed.
Arsanjani for Lahijan.
Mukarram for Darajaz.

(c) Still to be scrutinised:—

Safah Imami for Isfahan.
Nawab for Yezd.
Herati for Yezd.
Fazali for Yezd.
Khosro Qashqai for Firuzabad.

(d) Dossiers still awaited from the provincial committees:—

Matin Daftari for Meshkrin Shahr.
Said for Rezaieh.
Bezadi for Bam.
Ali Akbar Imami Ahari for Ahar.

3. On the occasion of the forty-second anniversary of the Persian Constitution the Prime Minister made a broadcast speech to the Persian people.

He said that since he wrote, in his own hand, the Constitutional Decree which was signed by Mozaffar-ed-din Shah forty-two years ago, he had observed constitutional and democratic principles in all the Government posts which he had occupied. He regretted that freedom, an attribute of a Government of the people and for the people, had been misinterpreted and misconstrued. That, he said, had brought about numerous intrigues hostile to the country's good. He said that the movement of the Democrats of Azerbaijan and the developments in Kurdistan and Fars were all the result of that misinterpretation. Fortunately, however, by their persistent and devoted efforts during the past eighteen months, the Government had succeeded in preventing and checking the progress of such events in time and had restored the country to normal. Nevertheless, he went on to warn the Persian people that the danger had not passed, and that it was still lurking at the threshold, only awaiting an opportunity to take advantage of any weakness or dissension that it might observe. He therefore called upon all Persians to realise the situation and avoid all causes of hatred, which might lead to separation and differences, so that they could reach the haven of safety by the able guidance of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, the wise and democratic ruler of Persia.

4. In paragraph 4 of last Intelligence Summary attention was drawn to the

apparent anomaly of Muzaffar Firuz communicating with his Government from Moscow after his resignation from the post of Persian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. had been announced. Curiosity as to the exact status of Muzaffar Firuz prompted the editor of *Ettelaat* to ask for an official explanation. The Minister of Labour and Propaganda explained to Persian and foreign newspaper correspondents on 11th August that Muzaffar Firuz no longer held charge, that he had returned from Switzerland to Moscow in a private capacity and that he would be leaving in a few days.

Internal Security

5. *Gilan*.—Reference paragraph 8 of Intelligence Summary No. 27, the Russians have dismantled the small W/T set on the Pahlevi airfield when their air service Tehran-Pahlevi was recently discontinued.

6. *Fars*.—No operations to disarm the Qashqai have as yet started, though some slight increase in military aircraft has been made in Shiraz. His Majesty's Consul reports rumours to the effect that General Muini, the General Officer Commanding, Fars, is to supersede the Governor-General, now in Tehran for consultations, and that the operations will start on General Muini's return from Tehran, whither he, too, was summoned for a conference. Nothing further has been heard of the enforced holiday abroad of Nasir Khan and Khosro Khan (see paragraph 7 of Intelligence Summary No. 29), and it seems probable either that the two brothers are "negotiating" with the Chief of the General Staff or that the Prime Minister has intervened on their behalf by pointing out to the Shah the folly of commencing large-scale military operations in Fars at this moment.

Labour

7. Habib Nafisi has returned from his mission to the I.L.O. Conference. He was, he states, congratulated by the Prime Minister on his success and asked if he would accept a higher post. He says that he told the Prime Minister that he would prefer to remain as under-secretary in the Ministry of Labour.

Persian Navy

8. Salvage operations by the Royal Navy on the Persian sloop *Palang* have been completed and the vessel no longer obstructs A.I.O.C. shipping. Efforts to raise the *Homa* (ex-*Ivy*), which sank at her

moorings soon after being handed back by the Royal Navy to the Persian Navy, have so far proved unsuccessful. The salvage authorities have stated, in answer to a request by the Persian Government, that the refloating of their other large sloop the *Babr* is not practicable.

Appointments

9. Mansur Ali Qaragozlu, Sardar Akram, to be Governor-General of the Vth (Kermanshah) Ustan, *vice* Shams-ul-Mulk Ara, Shahab-ud-dowleh. Sardar Akram was recently Governor of Hamadan. He is almost embarrassingly pro-British. It is thought that this appointment is in the nature of an *amende* by the Prime Minister, whose manoeuvres to get Abbas Iskandari in for a Hamadan seat resulted

in Sardar Akram losing his in the recent elections.

Resignations

10. Mahmud Mahmud, Governor of Tehran, on election to the Majlis for Najafabad.

Russian Interests

11. The Soviet Ambassador and Military Attaché have returned from leave. This fact, coupled with communications believed on very good authority to have been made by Muzaffar Firuz to his Government, has naturally given rise to rumours that the Russians are about to renew their pressure on the Persian Government to obtain an oil agreement.

E 7915/17/34

No. 101

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 32

Period ending 19th August, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 318 of 20th August; Received 28th August)

Persian Affairs

Political

Up to the end of last week the opposition in the Majlis employed obstructive tactics by walking out to prevent the formation of the necessary quorum whenever the question of the election of the presidential body was brought up. Finally a compromise was reached and, at the session of 17th August, Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, was elected President by 73 votes out of 112. Taqizadeh received 36 votes. Voting on the remaining credentials was to be resumed at the session of 19th August.

2. As predicted in paragraph 11 of last Intelligence Summary new developments have occurred in the Russian demand for an oil agreement, but the situation is not yet clear. It is learnt on good authority that the Soviet Ambassador demanded ratification by the Majlis within three months of an agreement drafted by his Government on the lines of Qawam-us-Saltaneh's undertakings of April 1946. When the Prime Minister warned Mr. Sadchikov that such a Bill would almost certainly be rejected by the Majlis and suggested further discussions to produce a Bill more likely to be acceptable to that body, Mr. Sadchikov would not agree to put this suggestion to his Government. Thus, the only course

open to Qawam-us-Saltaneh, once he has secured the election of a President, is to present the Bill and, by its rejection, to free himself and his country from the burden which had been pressing heavily on them for nearly two years. A careful choice of words will, of course, be necessary lest, on the one hand, he should subsequently be held personally responsible by the Russians for having failed to prevent its rejection and thus of having broken his pledges and, on the other, he should bring about his own fall from office by showing even mild support for an unpopular project.

3. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has addressed a circular to all diplomatic missions in Tehran requesting them to refrain "in accordance with Persian law from publishing in Persia newspapers and reviews." The Persian text is no less ambiguous than the French press report as to the exact type of publication banned but it is understood that the daily news service put out by the Information Department of His Majesty's Embassy will not be affected. In private conversation with Persian officials the same excuse is trotted out as was invariably used in the days of Reza Shah, *i.e.*, "it is the Russians whom we are really after but, of course we cannot discriminate."

Internal Security

Fars

4. (See paragraph 6 of last Intelligence Summary) General Muini, the General Officer Commanding Fars Division, on his return from Tehran to Shiraz announced that disarmament of the tribes would begin immediately. He referred to the general amnesty proclaimed by the Shah at the conclusion of the Fars revolt of last autumn and also said that the Government were taking steps to ameliorate the economic lot of the province by raising the standard of living and by lowering prices. Some indication that the Persian Government hope to induce the tribes to hand in their rifles without recourse to military operations is afforded by the recent visit to Tehran of some of the chiefs of the Darrehshuri, Farsimadan and Kashkuli sections of the Qashqai tribe who are known to be in opposition to Nasir Khan and his brothers on account of their unwise policy, dictatorial control and shameless self-enrichment.

Kermanshah

5. His Majesty's Consul reports a recrudescence of Tudeh Party activity. The local newspaper *Bisitun* once more acts as its organ. Some fifty of the A.I.O.C. employees have enrolled themselves as members. The Russian cultural institution V.O.K.S. is said to be responsible for this revival.

6. Some rifles are being collected from the Babajani and Qubadi tribes. A Persian army battalion has been sent to the area but has not so far been called upon to use force.

Kurdistan

7. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British military attaché on 19th August that during the past week a band of Herki from Iraq had entered Persia and, after a clash with a Persian army column just south of the Mergawar plain had crossed into Turkish territory where another skirmish occurred between them and Turkish troops.

The Court

8. H.R.H. Princess Ashraf has left Tehran for the United States on the invitation of the American Red Cross.

Finance

9. Abul Hasan Ibtihaj, Governor of the Banque-i-Milli, is proceeding to the

United Kingdom for discussions regarding the International Monetary Fund and Persia's sterling balances.

Administration

10. The Department of Registration and Civil Status of the Ministry of the Interior has announced its intention to issue new identity cards for the population. These will be "security" printed. The decision, it is announced, was rendered necessary by the large number of unauthorised identity cards issued by the rebel Azerbaijan Democrat Government while in power. In the course of the statement by the Ministry of the Interior in this connexion it is said that "according to the statistics obtained in 1322 (1943-44) the population of Persia was estimated at 16,549,830 (8,309,349 males and 8,240,482 females) distributed among 107 cities, 1,062 towns and 41,521 villages." It should be remembered that no complete census has ever been taken in Persia and that the above figures were based on statistics obtained for the purposes of the issue of ration cards in which, obviously, it was in the interest of the compiling officers to return a population in excess of that actually existing. The Persian Government has adhered to this fictitious figure ever since partly in order to secure larger quotas of controlled commodities from abroad and partly, for reasons of national pride, in order to refute the accusations of national decadence implied in the estimates by foreign travellers of a population of 12 million in a land which is popularly supposed to have supported upwards of 20 million in the days of the Safawi dynasty.

Persian Army

11. Manœuvres for the senior term at the Staff College were held during the past week and H.I.M. The Shah was present on the concluding day at Kerej, 25 miles west of Tehran. Foreign service attachés were not invited. General Razmara informed the British military attaché that the manœuvres were in reality little more than a route march to the Qafan Kuh and back to test the endurance of the troops and of the staff college students and that they were not adjudged to be of sufficient interest to warrant the presence of foreign service attachés. In view of General Razmara's recent xenophobic tendencies this information does not carry much conviction especially in view of the fact that, on the concluding day at Kerej, for the

benefit of the Shah a formation of six of their newly acquired Hurricane aircraft carried out an attack with cannon on an enemy strong post on a hill side, a distinct advance on any aerial manœuvres yet seen in Persia.

Communications

12.—(i) The asphaltting of the Tehran-Qazvin road has now been completed with the exception of the last 5 miles from Sharifabad to Qazvin. This portion requires a new soling before it can be surfaced.

(ii) A British traveller reports that, so far, only one-third of the asphaltting of the Tehran-Qum road has been completed.

Appointments

13.—(i) Sarlashgar Iraj Matbui (M.A. 106) and Sartip Munir Darakhshan (M.A. 55) to be Director and Deputy Director, respectively, of Army Purchase.

(ii) Sartip Mehdi Quli Alwai-Muqaddam

E 8096/17/34

No. 102

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 33

Period ending 25th August, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 330 of 27th August; Received 3rd September)

Persian Affairs

Political

No startling developments have occurred over the Russian demand for an oil agreement since those reported in paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary, but neither the Russians nor the Persians have been idle. The Persian Prime Minister is believed on good authority to have instructed the Persian Ambassadors in London and Washington to inform the British and American Governments of the situation as seen in Tehran and, in so doing they have both enquired what the two Governments' reactions would be to a direct intervention by Russia in the event of the oil agreement Bill being rejected by the Majlis. Activity on the Russian side consists chiefly of a war of nerves. Radio messages from Tass and other sources during the early part of the week spoke of "an agreement which is about to be signed in accordance with the Persian Government's undertaking of April 1946" and

(M.A. 15) from Director of Army Purchase to an unspecified post in the General Staff.

Resignations

14.—(i) Mashayekhi from the post of Mayor of Tehran (press report requiring confirmation). The speculations of this rogue have been on a gigantic scale and have done much political damage to the reputation of the Prime Minister who has supported him against attacks sustained over a long period. Mashayekhi's unpopularity is such that his credentials as a Majlis Deputy have also met with strong opposition.

(ii) Salman Assadi from Minister of Labour and Propaganda (in the hope that this step may accelerate the acceptance by the Majlis of his credentials as a Deputy).

Indian Interests

15. The Persian Prime Minister has sent messages of goodwill to the Governments of India and Pakistan.

used other phrases which implied that the granting of the concession was a foregone conclusion. Later in the week the tone changed and, in an article in *Pravda*, the Persian Government was accused of delaying tactics and, under pressure from "reactionary elements" and foreign powers, of attempting to evade its previous undertakings. Another feature of this war of nerves is the crop of rumours of large-scale Russian military reinforcements on the Persian frontier, both in Azerbaijan and Khorasan. These are probably put about by the Russians themselves and are repeated with exaggerations by timid and credulous Persians.

The Majlis

2. The scrutiny of the credentials of Mashayekhi, the ex-Mayor of Tehran, produced an acrimonious debate in the Majlis. So unpopular was this rogue that hostility to him was almost universal and came both from his fellow members of the Prime

Minister's Iran Democrat Party and from the thirty Deputies comprising the Opposition. He silenced the first group by saying that whatever he had done as mayor he had done on the orders of the Prime Minister and by threatening to make more startling revelations. The second group he is reported to have bought up at 5,000 toman apiece. The resulting expenditure (some £10,000) will make no appreciable hole in his profits. Thus baulked of its prey, the Majlis sought for a fresh victim and proceeded to reject the credentials of Kohbud, the wealthy merchant elected from Saujbulagh. Having thus suitably demonstrated its powers it got on with the business in hand and, at its session of 24th August, elected the following as vice-presidents: Amir Husain Bakhtiari (son of the late Ilkhani, Sardar Zafar) and Hasan Nabavi. Four secretaries and three tellers were also elected. According to Persian parliamentary procedure elections for the presidential body take place twice yearly in October and April.

3. Husain Maki, Ghulam Husain Rahimian and Dr. Baqai, Majlis Deputies for Arak, Quchan and Kerman respectively, have resigned from the Parliamentary Fraction of the Prime Minister's Iran Democrat Party.

4. The newspaper *Ettelaat* states that, as the result of charges brought by the editor of *Mihan*, the Public Prosecutor has issued orders for the prosecution of Muzaffar Firuz, lately Persian Ambassador to Moscow and still there, though his exact status is not known. Little importance need be attached to this statement, owing to Muzaffar Firuz's present whereabouts, the influence of his patron, the Prime Minister, and, most of all, to the appalling state of the Ministry of Justice, cynically compared by a Persian to a slot machine which absorbs not pennies but pounds without giving a sign that its interior mechanism is out of order.

Internal Security

Khorasan

5. His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed reports that, following on the discontinuance of the Russian air services in Persia, the Russian W/T station on the aerodrome at Meshed has been dismantled and moved to Tehran.

6. His Majesty's Consul-General, quoting Persian sources, also refers to continued movement of Russian troops

along the Persian border towards Afghanistan, but concludes that they are due to the coincidence of manoeuvres with reinforcement of Russian frontier posts. (See also paragraph 1 above.)

Azerbaijan

7. Fourteen further executions have taken place in Sarab of persons convicted of complicity in the Democrat revolt of last year.

Fars

8. General Muini, the General Officer Commanding, Fars Division, and the Tehran press are making great play with the amnesty recently proclaimed by the Shah. It is a vague document and makes no attempt to specify the acts for which pardon has been granted or the limits of time between which those acts were perpetrated nor, indeed, to distinguish between acts of concerted tribal rebellion and ordinary crime unconnected with the disturbances. The Chief of the General Staff, when asked by the British Military Attaché why a fresh amnesty was necessary when one had already been proclaimed last year as part of the agreement between Nasir Khan Qashqai and the Government, replied that the original amnesty was deemed to have lapsed since the tribes had not fulfilled their side of the bargain by handing in their arms.

Persian Army

9. The Persian General Staff have at their disposal a reasonable budget provision to defray the cost of tuition for officers sent abroad to foreign military schools. Actually this sum is frittered away on expensive and fruitless "joy-rides" for senior generals, e.g., General Firuz's protracted tour of the United States and the United Kingdom, or on unnecessarily large purchasing missions, e.g., the recent mission to the United States which has been kicking its heels in America for the past three months. The General Staff announced some months ago that it was willing to allow selected officers to attend foreign military schools at their own charges. They would receive no allowances but would draw ordinary pay at Persian rates. The selection of six officers to proceed to the United States under this scheme is announced in the press.

Appointments

"A," Civil

10—(i) Ali Akbar Rasuli to be Governor of Bijar.

(ii) Dr. Khalatbari to be Mayor of Tehran, *vice* Mashayekhi resigned. Khalatbari will retain his appointment as technical assistant to the Minister of the Interior.

"B," Military

(i) Sartip Ghulam Husain Muqtadir (M.A. 126) resumes his previous appointment of Deputy Minister of War (Administration).

(ii) Sarlashgar Fazlullah Humayuni (M.A. 82) to be General Officer Commanding, 3rd Eastern (Azerbaijan) Division, with headquarters at Tabriz, *vice* Sartip Zarrabi.

(iii) Sartip Abbas Zanganeh (M.A. 196) to be General Officer Commanding, 4th Western (Azerbaijan) Division, with headquarters at Rezaieh.

Diplomatic Representation

11—(i) Dr. Qasim Ghani (F.O. 53), Ambassador designate to Egypt, has returned to Tehran after a lengthy visit to the United States. It is stated in the Persian press that he will be leaving for Cairo in the near future.

(ii) Ali Mutamedi (F.O. 104), Persian Consul-General in Delhi, to be *chargé d'affaires, a.i.*, to the Dominion of India pending the appointment of Persian Ambassadors to India and Pakistan, a step which is now under consideration by the three Governments concerned.

Addendum to paragraph 14 (ii) of last Intelligence Summary.

12. An additional reason for the resignation of Salman Assadi (F.O. 19) is his desire to retain his post of Governor of the Industrial and Mining Bank, an appointment which he can legally hold in conjunction with his seat in the Majlis but not in conjunction with a Cabinet post.

E 8360/17/34

No. 103

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 34

Period ending 1st September, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 341 of 3rd September; Received 11th September)

Persian Affairs

Political

After the election of the presidential body of the Majlis a delegation was chosen, according to constitutional practice, to inform His Imperial Majesty The Shah that the Majlis was legally constituted and ready to transact the country's business. This was done on 27th August. The Prime Minister tendered his resignation on the same day and the Shah thereupon requested the Speaker to ascertain the wishes of the Majlis in regard to a new Prime Minister. A secret session was held on 28th August at which no agreement was reached but at another on 30th August, when 116 Deputies were present, Qawam-us-Saltaneh was chosen by 78 votes. The aged and highly respected Husain Pirnia, Mutamin-ul-Mulk (F.O. 126), received 34 votes. Husain Samii, Adib-us-Saltaneh (F.O. 153), received one vote and there were three blank voting papers. His Imperial Majesty The Shah was informed of this

and sent for Qawam-us-Saltaneh and instructed him to form his Cabinet.

2. Some seventeen Majlis Deputies, most of them from Azerbaijan constituencies, have formed themselves into a political party known as the "National Union Fraction." These Deputies, together with nineteen others who find themselves in disagreement with the Prime Minister, were those who supported Taqizadeh's candidature for the speakership and, last week, were the only Deputies to vote against the choice of Qawam-us-Saltaneh as the next Prime Minister. Till recently, at any rate, they had the support of the Shah.

3. During the past week it became increasingly clear that Qawam-us-Saltaneh would be re-elected. Opposition from the Court slackened when the Shah was persuaded that premature efforts to dislodge Qawam might bring the sole responsibility for the subsequent handling of the Russian oil question to rest on himself. Inside the Majlis, Qawam could still count on a substantial majority from among the members

of his own party. A widespread revolt has not yet begun and may not begin for a month or two till it is brought about by those dissident tendencies inherent in Persians and by the realisation by his supporters that they cannot all have all the good jobs all the time. Actually, there was little practical difference between the views of his supporters and those of his opponents. The former held the view that only Qawam was astute enough to extricate the country from its present predicament and the latter that as it was he who had brought the country into its present predicament it was up to him to extricate it.

4. It is believed on good authority that the Persian Government has asked the Soviet Government for their *agrément* to the appointment of Hamid Sayyah (F.O. 155) as Persian Ambassador to Moscow in place of Muzaffar Firuz. Hamid Sayyah spent a few months in Moscow in 1946 with the rank of Minister when Majid Ahi, the ambassador, fell ill.

5. The recent article in *Pravda* has not furthered the Russian cause. It has annoyed the Persians and has gone a long way to harden opinion against an oil agreement in any shape. It is interesting that this article contains what is believed to be the first attack on the Shah in the Russian press and radio. Mention of the A.I.O.C. concession is significant and indicates a possible alternative demand by the Russians in the event of the rejection of a Bill based on the 1946 undertakings by Qawam. In another article of 28th August in the same paper the Shah is also attacked as encouraging oppression of and harsh retaliatory measures against "democrat elements" in Azerbaijan. The article covers much ground and refers to ceaseless executions, an anti-Soviet crusade preached by "reactionary" mullahs and the warm welcome given to American officers who pay frequent visits to the Soviet border. This last and rather incongruous accusation would appear to have had its origin in the recent visit by General Grow to Astara, during which he stood at the Persian end of the frontier bridge and took shots with a ciné camera of the Russian end.

6. A delegation composed of Mustafa Adl, Mansur-us-Saltaneh (F.O. 1), Abul Qasim Farouhar (F.O. 46), Fazlullah Nabil (officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs) and Dr. Abdoh, an authority on international law, will leave shortly to attend the forthcoming session of U.N.O.

in New York. Nasrullah Intezam (F.O. 65) is Persia's permanent representative.

Internal Security

Fars

7. Though His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports the arrival there of an extra battalion of infantry from Tehran, it is not certain, on the evidence available, that military operations to disarm the tribes are about to begin. If Nasir Khan tenders his submission and consents to reside in Shiraz, it is unlikely that the Persian Government will now insist on his leaving the country, but their resolve to send his youngest brother, Khosro Qashqai, on a protracted holiday abroad appears unshaken (see paragraph 7 of Intelligence Summary No. 29). General Muini, the G.O.C. Fars Division, is in contact with the leaders of the main Qashqai tribes, whose hostility to the four brothers was reported in paragraph 4 of Intelligence Summary No. 32.

Azerbaijan

8. As stated in paragraph 10 B (ii) of last Intelligence Summary, General Zarrabi has been replaced by General Humayuni as G.O.C. 3rd (Eastern Azerbaijan) Division at Tabriz. In conversation with the British Military Attaché on 27th August, the Chief of the General Staff said that General Humayuni possessed in a higher degree those soldierly qualities which would be needed in view of the army's added responsibilities in Azerbaijan (see paragraph 11 below). General Zarrabi, apart from the fact that he was appointed by the late Minister of War, has probably shown himself unwilling to make those heavy monthly remittances to General Razmara in default of which provincial commanders are relieved of their duties with remarkable celerity.

9. A rumour that Ali Mansur, Mansur-ul-Mulk, the Governor-General, was to be recalled has been officially denied.

10. General Khosroddad, O.C. Azerbaijan Gendarmerie, has been recalled. Corruption is thought to be the cause, as General Schwarzkopf once remarked to the British Military Attaché that Khosroddad "was so adept at organisation that he should never be left in a job for more than six months!"

11. On 27th August the Chief of the General Staff spoke at some length to the British Military Attaché on the subject of Azerbaijan. He dismissed as malicious

rumours probably put about by the Russians themselves the reports of the massing for offensive purposes of Russian troops on the Persian border and of the assembling there of several thousands of armed "muhajirs," ex-Azerbaijan democrat rebels, and of Barzani and other Kurds under the leadership of Mulla Mustafa with a view to marching into Persia to secure by force an oil concession or, less directly, to secure it by a threat of entry, for which a pretext could be formed in a state of rebellion in Azerbaijan which could be interpreted as a menace to the Soviet Union justifying armed intervention under a clause in the Perso-Soviet Treaty of 1921. He also described as a war of nerves the nocturnal activities of the Russian frontier posts, who fired off rockets, carried out night firing with machine-guns and night driving with tanks while, by day, their artillery directed range-finders at prominent targets on the Persian side. There was, however, he said, information, regarded by him as reliable, which showed that the Russian garrisons at Nakhjawan, Erivan and Garjeh on the Azerbaijan frontier and along the Khorasan frontier had been increased four-fold during the past two months. This information had been obtained from Red Army deserters (see paragraph 15 of Intelligence Summary No. 29), observation of railway traffic on those portions of the line visible from Persian territory (e.g., on the Aras River in Azerbaijan and near Askabad in Khorasan) and from other sources. If, contrary to his forecast, these activities really were a prelude to invasion, the Persian army could not do much about it. He was concerned more with the improvement of the situation in Azerbaijan. He referred to the recent assumption by the army of certain duties of frontier control formerly carried out by the gendarmerie, also to the necessity of tightening up the scrutiny of indent cards of Persians and residence permits of foreigners (see paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 32). Only by those means could an effective check be kept on the movements of the large number of Caucasian immigrants residing in Azerbaijan before the democrat rebellion and still resident there, as also upon the movements of the numerous Russian employees of such concerns as Iransovtrans, oil distribution, trade agencies as well as consular establishments. He proposed to screen these muhajirs and to send the politically dangerous to the Island of

Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and the politically unreliable to places in the centre and South East of Persia, where they could earn a living in employment on public works. The remainder, i.e., chiefly those who had been settled on the land for a long period, could remain in Azerbaijan. To enable the army to carry out these extra duties he had obtained a credit of 10 million rials and had despatched an extra battalion of infantry to Azerbaijan. He also proposed to proclaim as prohibited zones most of the Turco-Persian and Russo-Persian frontier areas, as was done in Reza Shah's time.

Baluchistan (Persian)

12. The Hindu and Sikh communities of Zahidan are nervous lest the communal tension in India may spread to this border town. They have asked the local governor to afford them police protection in the event of their being attacked by Muslims, either local or Indian.

13. The Persian press continues to give prominence to complaints by the inhabitants of Zabul district to the effect that the Helmand River has been diverted by the Afghans and that, as a result, their crops will die of drought. Burzoo Kalhur, the Governor of Zabul, now in Tehran, in conversation with the British Military Attaché tended to ridicule this accusation against the Afghans and explained the drying up of the Helmand as an annual phenomenon due to the "wind of 120 days" blowing at this season.

The Court

14. The betrothal is announced of His Royal Highness Prince Ghulam Reza Pahlevi to Miss Homa Alam. Ghulam Reza is stepbrother to the Shah, being the only son of Malikeh Turan, Reza Shah's second queen. Homa Alam is the third daughter of Dr. Amir Alam, who married the eldest of the eight daughters of Hasan Vossuq, Vossuq-ud-Dowleh (F.O. 176), elder brother of the Prime Minister.

Appointments

"A" Civil

15.—(i) Abbas Hishmati, Governor of Hamadan, to be Governor-General of the 2nd Ustan (H.Q. Sari).

(ii) Saifullah Fuladwand to be Governor of Hamadan.

"B" Military

Sartip Nasrullah Bayendor (M.A. 45) resumes his appointment as Engineer-in-Chief of the Persian Army.

Administration

16. Reference paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 21, the Council of Ministers has published a decree establishing the new Province of Baluchistan. The seat of the Governor-General is to be Zahidan, and the province includes the

Governorates of Baluchistan (Khwash), Mukran (Iranshahr) and Sistan (Zabul). It is understood that each governorate will retain the same four deputy governorates as under the former organisation.

Obituary

On 1st September Husain Pirnia, Mutamin-ul-Mulk, referred to in paragraph 1 above. Persia loses a grand old man.

E 8602/17/34

No. 104

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 35

Period ending 9th September, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 352 of 9th September; Received 18th September)

Persian Affairs**Political**

The Prime Minister has not yet formed his Cabinet, nor does he appear to be in any burning hurry to do so. This is natural, as it postpones what is for any Persian an evil day—the day upon which he must make up his mind. In this particular instance the most urgent question which Qawam-us-Saltaneh has to decide is, of course, his tactics in regard to the Russian oil agreement. Regarding the composition of his Cabinet the general opinion seems to be that there will not be any sweeping changes but that new incumbents may be found for the posts of Foreign Affairs and the Interior. It is also thought that the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda may be reduced to that of Labour only, the Propaganda branch being placed under the personal direction of the Prime Minister himself.

2. Persian reaction to the *Pravda* article (referred to in paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary) continues to be strong and great exception is taken to the attacks on the Shah, the allegations of "pogromist activities" by the Persian Government in Azerbaijan and, perhaps, most of all to the idea that an agreement having already been concluded in 1946 by the exchange of letters between Qawam-us-Saltaneh and the Soviet Ambassador all that remains is for the Majlis to ratify it. The contents of the Soviet Government's further note of 28th August have become known to the press and even greater indignation has

been caused by the scarcely veiled threats which it contained and of the accusations against the Persian Government of having broken its pledges and of having allowed itself to be persuaded by certain foreign powers to forsake a policy friendly to the U.S.S.R. and to return to its old inimical attitude.

The Majlis

3. During the earlier part of last week the Majlis conducted no business except the passing of a resolution to express the regret of the Chamber at the death of Husain Pirnia. The scrutiny of credentials was continued. Those of Said, Khoilar and Iskandari were passed while those of Salman Assadi and Wahabzadeh were deferred for further discussion. At the session of 8th September, Abdul Qadir Azad, Deputy for Sabzevar and an unprincipled demagogue, made a violent but incoherent attack on the Prime Minister and called for his impeachment.

The Elections

4. Sahib Diwani and Arab Shaibani have been elected to the Majlis for Fasa in Fars.

Internal Security**Azerbaijan**

5. Partial confirmation of the information given in paragraph 11 of last Intelligence Summary has come from His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz, who reports the arrival from

Tehran between 1st and 4th September of troops who subsequently left by night for Khoi, Maku and Julfa. He also mentions the removal by the military authorities of some political prisoners from the jail. This refers to the "screening" of the Muhajirs, and the Chief of the General Staff, at an interview on 6th September, confirmed to the B.M.A. that this had started and that the first batch had already left Tabriz for the place where the examination is to be carried out. It is a large staging camp, erected by the United States military forces during the recent war, at Badrabad some 5 miles south of Khurramabad in Luristan. According to the C.G.S. the reinforcements sent to Azerbaijan consist of two columns each of three battalions of infantry, a battery of mountain artillery and a section of anti-tank guns (not, as erroneously stated in paragraph 11 of last Intelligence Summary, of one battalion). The first of these two columns has proceeded to Khoi and the second is at Mianeh, so placed that it can reinforce either eastern or western Azerbaijan.

The Persian Army

6. The Chief of the General Staff, in answer to a direct question by the B.M.A., admitted on 6th September that a ban on the intercourse between Persian army officers and foreigners had been imposed. The following, he said, were exempted and were permitted to accept invitations from foreigners:—the Minister for War, the Deputy Minister for War, the C.G.S. and the two deputy Chiefs of the General Staff, the five Inspectors-General of the Forces and the Commandant of the Staff College. In the provinces the G.O.C. of the Division alone is exempt.

7. According to the official Persian army magazine the following units returned to their parent formations from Azerbaijan during August:—

2nd battalion 25th Infantry Regiment (Isfahan).
Battalions of 12th and 32nd Infantry Regiments (Kermanshah).
A battalion from Khorassan.

Labour

8. Further discussions have taken place in the Ministry of Labour concerning the failure on the part of the Russo-Persian Caspian Fisheries concession to put into effect recent labour legislation. A committee of investigation is to leave shortly for Pahlevi.

Appointments

9.—(i) Sarhang Isa Hidayat (M.A.80) to be director of the 1st Bureau, General Staff *vice* Sartip Ghulan Reza Shahin-Nuri (M.A.173).

(ii) Sartip Ali Akbar Sheri (M.A. 178) to be Director of the 3rd Bureau, General Staff, *vice* Sartip Ahmad Vossuq (M.A.191). Sartips Shahin-Nuri and Vossuq are relegated to the sinecure appointments of "Inspectors on the General Staff."

British Interests

10. The British Ambassador left Tehran by air for the United Kingdom on 5th September for consultations with the Foreign Office.

11. His Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consulate at Zabol (Seistan) was closed on 29th August. The Birjand Vice-Consulate will be closed on 14th September.

Russian Interests

12. The Soviet Government have invited Dr. Khalatbari, Mayor of Tehran, to attend the celebrations in connexion with the 800th anniversary of the foundation of Moscow.

13. The Russian consulate in Tehran has announced that further acceptance of Persian Armenians for emigration to the U.S.S.R. has been suspended till the end of 1947.

Italian Interests

14. His Excellency Señor Mario Porta, Italian Minister at Tehran since 1st August, 1946, died on 5th September from a heart attack.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 36

Period ending 15th September, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 366 of 16th September; Received 25th September)

Persian Affairs

Political

Qawam-us-Saltaneh presented his Cabinet (the sixth during his present premiership) to the Shah on 11th September, and to the Majlis on 14th September. It is composed as follows:—

- (i) Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior: Qawam-us-Saltaneh (F.O. 138).
- (ii) Minister of War: Mahmud Jam (F.O. 75).
- (iii) Minister without portfolio: Ali Asghar Hikmat (F.O. 58).
- (iv) Minister of National Economy: Dr. Muhammad Sajjadi (F.O. 151).
- (v) Minister of Education: Dr. Isa Sadiq (F.O. 146).
- (vi) Minister without portfolio: Mustafa Adl (F.O. 1).
- (vii) Minister of Finance: Abdul Husain Hazhir (F.O. 54).
- (viii) Minister for Foreign Affairs: Musa Nuri Isfandiari (F.O. 70).
- (ix) Minister of Agriculture: Ahmad Husain Adl.
- (x) Minister of Health: Dr. Manuchihr Iqbal (F.O. 67).
- (xi) Minister of Roads: Ghulam Husain Faruher.
- (xii) Minister of Posts and Telegraphs: Jawad Bushiri (F.O. 31).

NOTES

(a) Nos. (i), (ii), (iii), (v), (vi), (vii), (ix), (x) and (xi), no change.

(b) The Minister of Justice has not yet been appointed.

(c) Sajjadi replaces Sadiq.

(d) No. (viii), Musa Nuri Isfandiari, is at present Persian Ambassador at Ankara and it is by no means certain that he will accept, preferring, perhaps, like Sipahbudi in Paris, to hold what he has rather than to accept a post of uncertain duration.

(e) No. (xii), Jawad Bushiri, replaces Ali Nasr.

2. Owing to a leakage of information and to Persian speculative tendencies, some excitement and misunderstanding have been caused in Tehran over the attitude of His Majesty's Government to the Russian oil question. An article dated

10th September in the Persian newspaper *Ittela'at*, after declaring that the war of nerves now being waged by the Russians was gaining in intensity, suggested that Great Britain and Russia were about to come to an agreement over Persia and that secret conversations similar to those of 1907 were afoot—conversations which, if translated into action, would have resulted in the partition of Persia between those two Powers. In another article of the following day the same newspaper stated that before leaving for London His Majesty's Ambassador had advised Qawam-us-Saltaneh not to break off the conversations with the Soviet Government even if the Majlis were to reject the oil agreement. Subsequently, this statement was expanded by the Associated Press into a statement that the above advice had been embodied in a note handed to the Persian Government. This was officially denied by His Majesty's Government who stated that no note to this effect had been handed to the Persian Government and that advice had been limited to suggesting that, if the present draft agreement were rejected, the Persian Government might be well advised to leave the door open for further discussions. His Majesty's Government went on to say that they had never suggested that the Persian Government should do anything which they felt would endanger their independence and sovereignty. On the contrary, they had always made it clear to the Persian Government that it is for them to make up their own minds about the oil concession. The *démenti* concluded by labelling as malicious nonsense the suggestion that His Majesty's Government was returning to a policy of spheres of influence—an idea which would be contrary to His Majesty's Government's whole policy. Meanwhile, the Persian Prime Minister had gone further and, in reply to questions asked by *Ittela'at*, had denied that His Majesty's Ambassador had ever made any of the statements attributed to him but had, on the contrary, made it clear that His Majesty's Government did not wish to

influence the Persian Government one way or the other in the matter of the oil concession. After stating his present position *vis-à-vis* the Russians in this matter, the Persian Prime Minister concluded by ridiculing any suggestion of a secret agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government.

3. In the course of an address on "The Parliamentary System of Government," delivered on 11th September to the Irano-American Cultural Society, the American Ambassador made an allusion to the oil question which, though neither Russia nor oil was specifically mentioned, was unequivocal and most timely in that it may set at rest some of the doubts and fears occasioned in Persian minds by the events referred to in paragraph 2 above. In conversation with the British Military Attaché on the same day, the American Ambassador said that his object in making the statement was two-fold, to make clear his country's attitude to the Russian oil demand and to demonstrate that American support was not limited to Greece and Turkey but would be extended to Persia or, indeed, any other country in a similar plight. The concluding portions of the address are adjudged to be of sufficient interest to warrant insertion as an appendix to this summary.

The Majlis

4. Very little business was transacted during the past week. The credentials of Salman Assadi were accepted and the remaining parliamentary sub-committees were elected. At the session of 14th September, which was purely formal, the Prime Minister presented his Cabinet and his programme. This will be debated at the session of 16th September. It contained little beyond what he has said already in speeches and broadcast messages during his tenure of office. He began by a recital of all that he had accomplished and of what he hoped to accomplish if he won the confidence of the Majlis. He painted a dark picture of the state of Persia when he took office in February 1946, the presence of the armed forces of foreign Powers, the impotence of the administration and the disturbed state of Azerbaijan, contrasting all this with the immense improvement effected since his assumption of the premiership. He recapitulated his seven-year development plan and announced a ten-point policy of his Govern-

ment, which may be summarised as follows:—

- (i) The maintenance of the present friendly relations with all foreign Powers and especially with Russia, America and Great Britain.
- (ii) The continuance of the present economic policy based on national monopolies of foreign trade.
- (iii) The implementation and development of recent labour legislation.
- (iv) The further amelioration of working conditions and of agricultural labour.
- (v) Contained a further reference to the seven-year plan.
- (vi) The reduction of superfluous personnel in Government departments.
- (vii) Municipal reform.
- (viii) The provision of more houses for workers.
- (ix) The revision of social legislation.
- (x) The introduction of new legislation for provincial councils.

The Elections

5. The Ministry of the Interior has ordered that elections are to be completed as soon as possible in Bushire, Kermanshah and Sanjbulagh. For some unknown reason polling did not take place in Bushire at the same time as in the rest of Fars. In Kermanshah a by-election has been caused by the death of Dr. Muawin and at Sanjbulagh by the rejection of the credentials of Khebud.

Internal Security

Fars

6. Following on the proclamation of the amnesty granted by the Shah, the General Officer Commanding, Fars Division, has issued another proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to hand in all firearms, except those retained for sporting purposes against licences, to the nearest military or gendarmerie post by 22nd November. Failure to hand in a weapon will lead to its seizure.

Azerbaijan

7. Colonel Darugheh, formerly chief of police of Rezaieh, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for having collaborated with the Azerbaijan Democrat rebels.

8. Russian reactions to the screening of the "muhajirs" (referred to in paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary) may be gauged from a Tass agency message from Tabriz published in all the Russian

newspapers of 10th September. The report alleges that a new wave of terror has begun in Tabriz and other towns of Azerbaijan with the secret police, gendarmerie and military carrying out mass arrests of immigrants. (It is, of course, from among these "muhajirs," whether immigrants of long standing or recently imported, that the Russians drew their chief supporters, both to bolster up the Azerbaijan Independence movement of last year and, since its collapse, to carry out subversive propaganda design to weaken the authority of the Central Government.)

9. His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz reports that public confidence has been partially restored by the arrival of the Persian military reinforcements mentioned in paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary. Some instances of sabotage by Russian sympathisers are reported from Ahar, Sarab and Ardebil. This took the form of crop burning. In Ardebil, which His Britannic Majesty's Consul-General visited on 10th September, anti-Russian feeling is high and the Russian Consul is unable to leave his house for fear of attack by the populace. (If this is true the local Persian authorities are very unwise to allow this situation to continue, since threats to Russian subjects or anything in the shape of a movement based on xenophobia or fanaticism is just the sort of pretext which the Russians require in order to invoke the 1921 agreement.)

The Court

10. His Imperial Majesty the Shah underwent an operation for his tonsils on 11th September, and is to have another on his nose in a week's time. A French specialist was summoned from Paris to perform the operations.

Appointments

11. Ibrahim Khwajeh Nuri to be Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the Prime Minister and Director-General of the Department of Propaganda and Publications, now separated from the Ministry of Labour and Propaganda. Ibrahim Khwajeh Nuri is a lawyer who studied in Belgium, editor of the *Nida-yi-Edalat*, author of several biographies of prominent Persian politicians and a propagandist of some skill. He is honest, intelligent and well disposed towards the British.

Russian Interests

12. Reference paragraph 13 of last Intelligence Summary, Radio Moscow lays the blame for the cessation of Armenian emigration on the Persian Government. It reported the Soviet Consulate in Tehran as stating that the Persian Government had broken its pledges of 1945 and was now obstructing the departure of Armenians.

Brazilian Interests

13. M. Decio-Moura has arrived in Tehran as Brazilian Minister. The post has been vacant since the departure of M. Bueno de Prado some months ago.

Appendix

Text of American Ambassador's Address on 11th September, 1947

(See paragraph 3 of above Summary)

Within a few days the Iranian Majlis is expected to be asked to consider proposals concerning the development of one of the important natural resources of Iran. Certain rumours and allegations have appeared concerning the attitude of the United States in the matter, and I have been asked on numerous recent occasions to state my Government's position. I shall do so now, as specifically and clearly as I can.

The American Government has frequently made known its respect for the sovereignty of Iran. An important aspect of sovereignty is the full right of any country to accept or reject proposals regarding the development of its resources. Iran's resources belong to Iran. Iran can give them away free of charge or refuse to dispose of them at any price if it so desires.

The United States has no proper concern with proposals of a commercial or any other nature made to Iran by any foreign Government as long as those proposals are advanced solely on their merits, to stand or fall on their value to Iran. However, we and every other nation of the world do become concerned when such proposals are accompanied by threats of bitter enmity or by statements that it would be dangerous for Iran to refuse. The United States is firm in its conviction that any proposals made by one sovereign Government to another should not be accompanied by threats or intimidation. When such methods are used in an effort to obtain

acceptance, doubt is cast on the value of the proposals themselves.

The United States has dedicated its full energy and resources to freeing the peoples of the world from fear of aggression. Our determination to follow this policy as regards Iran is as strong as it is anywhere else in the world. This purpose can be

achieved to the extent the Iranian people show determination to defend their own sovereignty. Patriotic Iranians, when considering matters affecting their national interests, may therefore rest assured that the American people will support fully their freedom to make their own choice.

E 9043/17/34

No. 106

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 37

Period ending 22nd September, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 377 of 22nd September; Received 1st October)

Persian Affairs

Political

Due, perhaps, to the strict measures now being taken in Azerbaijan by the military authorities, wild rumours of a Russian invasion of Persia have been less in evidence during the past week, but steady pressure is being maintained by the Russian Ambassador on the Prime Minister and by the Russian press on the public. The press bureau of the Soviet Embassy in Tehran published on 21st September a long article entitled, "The Soviet Reply to the Persian Press." It traced the history of the negotiations in Moscow in February and March of 1946 for an oil agreement, and reproduced the texts of the letters exchanged between Qawam us Saltaneh and M. Sadchikov on 4th April, 1946, describing those negotiations as an "agreement," and the subsequent exchange of letters as "confirmation" of it.

2. During the past week it has been persistently rumoured that Muzaffar Firuz, accompanied by a high Soviet official, paid a flying visit to Tehran, held secret converse with the Prime Minister, and departed as silently as he came. A parliamentary question as to the truth of this, and also as to what Muzaffar Firuz was doing in Moscow after he had been relieved of his duties as ambassador, drew an official denial from the Pars agency, who stated that Firuz had not returned to Persia since his departure from Russia. No one can be found who is prepared to testify as to where and when he saw Firuz or the method of locomotion used, but, despite the denial, the rumour persists and certain dabblers in the occult and pedlars of mysteries describe the source of their information in their usual jargon either as

"usually well-informed" or "highly placed."

The Majlis

3. No business of any great importance has been transacted during the past week. The debate on the credentials of Arsanjani continues. On 16th September, opening the debate on the Government's programme, Husain Maki demanded the abolition of martial law and severely criticised the Government for retaining a surplus of employees and for the alleged maladministration of the Industrial and Mining Bank. He was followed by Kishawarz Sadr. On 18th September, an able and restrained reply for the Government was made by Hazhir, the Minister of Finance. Seventeen Deputies, including the two mentioned above, have registered their names as intending to attack the Government on its programme. To one unacquainted with the Persian character it may seem strange that some eight or nine of these Deputies owe their seats entirely to the Prime Minister, who imposed them upon constituencies in which, otherwise, they would not have secured a single vote! On 21st September the attack against the Government was continued by Mamaghani, a Tabriz Deputy, and Dr. Ettebar, Member for Burujird. The former maintained that the only supporters of the Prime Minister were those who received remunerative offices at his hands. The high cost of living, high from no valid economic reason, and the frittering away of the country's wealth to pay for luxury imports, were adduced as proof of the ineptitude of the administration. Dr. Ettebar covered much the same ground, but went on to attack the Prime Minister, firstly, for

having gone to Moscow without first informing the Majlis of his intended course of action, and obtaining a vote of confidence, and, secondly, for not summoning that body on his return to give an account of his negotiations. It followed, said the orator, that Qawam us Saltaneh had no authority to give the undertakings which he had given and that whatever he had done he had done on his own authority and responsibility.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

4. His Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz recently visited Mahabad and Rezaiyeh. He reports that in these two towns anti-Russian sentiments predominate and that the Soviet consuls no longer appear to have much contact with the populace. The military, gendarmerie and police are in complete control and are actively rounding up political suspects and prisoners for interrogation. The Kurds west of Rezaiyeh are chafing at the increased military control of their area, and at their diminished opportunities for raiding and highway robbery.

5. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 22nd September that, so far, the number of "muhajirs" collected and removed to Badrabad for screening is 1,000.

Fars

6. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that Nasir Khan Qashqai has not yet fulfilled his undertaking to come to Shiraz to discuss the disarming of his tribe with the Governor-General and that he will not do so until his youngest brother Khosro returns from Tehran. A few days ago, Khosro, in conversation with the British Military Attaché, confirmed that Nasir was still in his summer quarters at Beiza (about 40 miles north-west of Shiraz). From his typically wild talk about the sinister intentions of the Shah, the army and the Government towards his tribe, the British Military Attaché gathered that, while not actually under open arrest, Khosro had been ordered to remain in the capital for the time being.

Persian Navy

7. The Chief of the General Staff, on 22nd September, in answer to a question by the British Military Attaché, as to what de-

velopments, if any, had taken place over the question of the rehabilitation of the Persian navy, replied that, as far as his information went, the Ministry of War had notified the Persian Embassy in London of its acceptance of the proposals put forward by the Admiralty.

Persian Army

8. Colonel Yamini, who surrendered to the tribes in 1946 while commanding the Kazerun garrison, and who was sentenced to life imprisonment (paragraph 11 of Intelligence Summary No. 10 refers), has been acquitted by an appellate court.

9. The following information regarding the temporary reorganisation of the mechanised brigade was supplied by the United States Military Attaché. It is believed to be accurate:—

The former mechanised brigade, as a measure of economy, had been reduced to a cadre consisting of a so-called regiment with a total strength of 520. It comprises the following:—

- 1 battalion [*sic*] of 105-mm. (long) guns.
- 1 battery of 75-mm. A.A. guns.
- 1 platoon of A.A. heavy machine guns.
- 1 battery of 4 searchlights.
- 1 armoured car company of 12 vehicles.

A second armoured car company of 12 vehicles is in Tabriz under temporary command of 3rd Division.

Of the Central Garrison Divisional Tank Battalions the 1st Divisional Battalion is complete in Tehran. The 2nd Divisional Battalion is dispersed as follows:—

- 1 company (6 light and 6 medium) at Tabriz.
- 1 company (6 light and 6 medium) at Rezaiyeh.
- 1 company (6 light and 6 medium) at Meshed.
- 1 company (6 light and 6 medium) at Shiraz.

The Court

10. The second operation on His Imperial Majesty the Shah has been performed successfully and he is making good progress.

Appointments

- 11.—(i) Akbar Musawizadeh to be Governor-General of Tehran *vice*-Mahmud Mahmud who resigned

with that unprincipled and unpopular rogue Abul Qasim.

Russian Interests

12. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 22nd September that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had formally requested the Soviet Embassy to liquidate "Transov-trans." This Russian transport agency was an ideal cover organisation for the dissemination of their propaganda. The same information was given to the British Military Attaché a week ago by the head of the Protocol Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Addendum

To paragraph 1 of Intelligence Summary No. 36 add as note (f):—

"The Minister of Labour also remains to be appointed."

No. 107

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 38

Period ending 29th September, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 387 of 29th September; Received 9th October)

Persian Affairs

Political

The dominant topic remains, of course, the Russian Oil Agreement. Except for some discussion in the Majlis (referred to in paragraph 2 below) no new developments have occurred and what Qawam-us-Saltaneh intends to do remains a matter of pure conjecture. The following remarks, therefore, shed no fresh light on the matter, but may serve as a rough survey of the various opinions held. His opponents stoutly maintain that he has every intention of securing the agreement for the Russians and merely hesitates as to the best method of doing so. These opponents correctly predict that the granting of this concession will result in the loss of Azerbaijan to Persia, since no safeguards devised by the wit of man, let alone a Persian, will be effective if one party lacks the means with which to enforce them and the other party has, from the outset, no intention of observing them. As to the method by which Qawam may secure the passing of the Bill through the Majlis, these opponents are less united and on less sure ground in their predictions.

Some say, with absolute truth, that Persians are mercurial, that, though capable of spasmodic bravery, their courage soon oozes away, that they often tremble to-morrow at their temerity of yesterday, and that though not more than twenty Deputies might now be found who are prepared to grant the oil concession, this number might swell to a majority under Russian threats. Russian bribery or Russian propaganda to the effect that reliance on Anglo-Saxon ability to support Persia, or upon U.N.O.'s capacity to defend her were vain. Others there are who say, with less appearance of truth, that Russia has realised that Qawam's powers of procrastination and the hostility of the Majlis are obstacles which they cannot overcome by legitimate means and that they will bring the central Government to its knees by staging a second Greece in Azerbaijan. Qawam's supporters, on the contrary, say for American and British consumption that he has no intention of giving Persia's oil to the Russians, but is in doubt as to the course which he should pursue to achieve his objects which are five-fold, viz.: to secure the rejection of the

Bill, to avoid an open breach with Russia, to keep the U.N.O. seized of the Persian question, to prevent any impeachment of himself for his past actions in connexion with the agreement and, lastly, to secure his own retention of the premiership. These two last are undoubtedly the most important in his eyes and retention of office is easily discernible as the motive underlying most of his actions during the past nineteen months. If one accepts the contention that he is against the agreement, these must be the reasons why he has not already asked for a vote on the issue in the Majlis. They are certainly the reasons for the continuance of the debate on his programme to the ten points of which no Majlis Deputy could raise serious objections. What the Majlis fears is that by giving Qawam a vote of confidence on his programme (in which there is no mention of oil) they will automatically thereby give their approval to all his previous actions during the long period when his Cabinet ruled by decree without a Majlis, and thus, in a sense, show their readiness to ratify the draft agreement drawn up between him and the Russian Ambassador. The Russians, for their part, in addition to the war of nerves on Persia's frontier, are insisting on Qawam's signing the agreement—they refuse to admit that it was a draft—before presentation to the Majlis. In these circumstances Qawam's reluctance to grasp the nettle is understandable. In the handling of this complicated matter some Persian newspapers have taken the unexpected line of attacking the A.I.O.C. and demanding a rigorous revision—in some papers the cancellation—of its concession. They are not all Tudeh papers, and it is not thought that the suggestions are put forward out of malice or any renewed hostility to the company, but are prompted by a desire to strengthen the argument against granting a Russian concession by striking a nationalistic attitude of "Persian oil for the Persians and no concessions to any foreigner."

The Majlis

2. The debate on the Government's programme continued throughout the past week. Much of the criticism covered points already raised by previous speakers, but some new ground was covered, namely, the Governments failure to establish an honest and capable administration in Azerbaijan, the inadequacy of its programme for the development of public services, its failure to extract its dues from the Soviet and

British Governments on account of customs duties and railway charges respectively and its supine attitude in the matter of the Holmand water dispute (see also paragraph 9 below). A lengthy attack was made by Dr. Matin Daftari (an ex-Prime Minister interned by the Allies for his pro-Axis sympathies in the late war) who said that the Government's foreign policy was wrong in placing reliance on U.N.O., in opportunist wobbling between Russia and Great Britain or in courting American sympathy by loans and advisers. The only proper policy for Persia to pursue, said Matin Daftari, was to proclaim herself a neutral country like Switzerland and to formulate a "Monroe Doctrine" for Persia. The remainder of his speech was devoted to enumerating some of the forty-one different ways in which, he alleged, Qawam-us-Saltaneh had violated the Persian Constitution during his nineteen months' tenure of the Premiership. At the session of 28th September, Abbas Masudi (Opposition-Tehran) proposed the addition of the following as clause 11 of the Government's programme:—

"Immediate steps will be taken by the Government to explore the natural resources of Persia, especially oil. The Government will entrust the exploitation of these resources only to Persian companies and capital on reasonable terms and these exploitation companies shall be empowered, in order to sell their products, to conclude the necessary agreements with foreign purchasers after approval by the Council of Ministers."

Abbas Masudi was followed by Ahmad Aheri (Opposition-Ahar) who insultingly referred to the Prime Minister as "Pishevari's accomplice." Pandemonium then broke loose and the Prime Minister walked out of the Chamber.

The Armenians

3. The statement in the Persian press to the effect that the Russian consulate in Tehran could accept no more Armenians for emigration to the U.S.S.R. (reported in paragraph 13 of intelligence summary No. 35) has caused quite a political stir. The Russian Tass agency came out with a spirited counter-attack blaming the Persian Government (rightly, it would appear) for having placed obstacles in the way of Armenian emigration. An announcement by the Department of Press and Propaganda now states that emigration is entirely

voluntary and no obstacle will be put in the way of any Armenian wishing to leave Persia for the U.S.S.R. On 22nd September, the Chief of the General Staff, in an interview with the British Military Attaché, supplied some confidential background to the above. He said that such information as had leaked out of Russia in the very guarded letters written by previous emigrants to their families disclosed an appalling state of affairs. They had been stripped of their valuables and money and even their clothes on entering Russia. Technicians and artisans had been drafted to factories and the unskilled of both sexes and all ages had been set to work as coolies on roadmaking. More recently some thirty of these Armenian emigrants had succeeded in making their way back to Persia, mostly via Turkey. Similar but even more highly coloured accounts which they gave of conditions in the U.S.S.R. caused the Persian Government to put a stop to further emigration. This action, based, as the Russians know it must be, on knowledge of the fate of previous emigrants, embarrassed and annoyed them. Hence the counter-attack from Tass. In order further to demonstrate the culpability of the Persians in thus depriving their Armenians from a chance to enter the Promised Land, the Russians had encouraged about a hundred families of Armenians from Arak (Sultanabad) to sell up and come to Tehran. The destitution and despair of these unfortunates, huddled together in an Armenian school near the Soviet Embassy, was then evinced as proof of the Persian Government's inhuman attitude towards its Armenian subjects in thus preventing their emigration. The above account, though as logically coherent and as graphically narrated as all General Razmara's utterances, is, after all, a Persian's version of the affair and, to the British Military Attaché at any rate, supplies the first recorded instance of any Persian solicitude for their Armenian subjects.

Internal Security

Fars

4. (See paragraph 6 of last intelligence summary). His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that Nasir Khan Qashqai has arrived there and has had discussions with the Governor-General of Fars and the G.O.C. Fars Division concerning the disarming of his tribe. In an interview with His Majesty's Consul, Nasir Khan harped on his old grievances of bullying by

subordinate army officers commanding garrisons in tribal territory and of the corruption practised by civil officials. He then left for Tehran announcing his intention of laying these complaints in person before the Shah and subsequently of going to Switzerland for two years. According to the Governor-General, at a meeting attended by all the Qashqai Khans save one, general agreement to hand in their arms voluntarily was reached. There is no doubt that the position and authority of the four brothers has been seriously undermined by the independent action of the chiefs of the sub-tribes forming the Qashqai confederacy and this projected holiday of Nasir Khan may well be an attempt to save his face with the tribes on the grounds that disarmament of the Qashqai was only possible in the absence of their redoubtable overlords.

Azerbaijan

5. His Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz states that reports from Marand and Khoi speak of considerable concentrations of Soviet troops in the town of Russian Julfa. The G.O.C. Azerbaijan and O.C. Gendarmerie proceeded to Persian Julfa on 26th September. The Persians are said to be fortifying the Darreh Diz defile between Julfa and Marand. (This was the line on which the Persian troops held up the Soviet troops for a short while in August 1941.)

Khuzistan

6. The Persian Government has announced its intention of restoring the lands of Sheikh Sir Khazel Khan, son of the late Sheikh of Muhammerah, to his heirs. This measure will arouse some resentment locally among those who have benefited from Government's control of the estates and among the numerous peasantry whose past experience of the overlordship of the Khazal family was not a happy one.

7. Colonel Zelli, Persian senior naval officer in the Gulf, has been appointed frontier control officer of the Perso-Iraqi frontier. Two battalions of the 14th Ahwaz Regiment have been drafted into the area and are distributed as follows:—

One company each at Qusbeh, Khosroabad, Abadan, Saalbuk Island, Khorramshahr, Failiyeh Creek, the Perso-Iraqi frontier and Khorramshahr customs.

Baluchistan

8. His Majesty's Consul at Zahidan reports that the Persian Army have taken

over from the gendarmerie the guarding of the frontier (as elsewhere in Persia) and are establishing posts at Lutak, Girdi, Hormuk, Mirjawa, Mashked, Jalk, Kuhak, and Peshin.

9. There appears to be no truth in the announcement by the Near East radio of clashes between Persian and Afghan troops on the frontier, though Persian feelings undoubtedly run high over the diversion of the waters of the Helmand River and the resulting drought in Seistan, where the inhabitants are said to be killing off their cattle. In reply to a parliamentary question by one of the Deputies for Baluchistan, the Minister of Agriculture made a lengthy but unconvincing statement. He traced the history of this ancient dispute from the Goldsmith arbitration of 1872 through the subsequent investigations by MacMahon in 1902 to the Perso-Afghan agreement signed fifteen years ago. This agreement, he stated, was itself the subject of six years' further discussion and a final agreement was signed by both Governments nine years ago, but its provisions were never carried out by the Afghans. A Persian proposal to send experts into Afghan territory to study the problem on the spot evoked a counter-suggestion by the Afghan territory to study the problems on Seistan to decide how much water the Seistanis required. There the matter rests for the moment. The Persian Government is being urged by some to submit the dispute to United Nations Organisation, while the editor of *Mihan*, in ebullient mood, demands a declaration of war on Afghanistan.

Persian Army

10. All commanders of provincial divisions and brigades have been summoned to Tehran to attend the reopening of the staff college. An exercise in air support for troops has also been arranged for their instruction. (Air Attaché's Intelligence Summary No. 19, paragraph 1 refers.)

Public Health

11. According to an announcement by the Ministry of Health five days' quarantine has been imposed on travellers arriving in Persia from Egypt owing to an outbreak of cholera there.

Communications

12. Tehran-Qum road (M.T. Routes in Iran, 1942, volume I, route IV—F.

Reference paragraph 12 (ii) of Intelligence Summary No. 32, dated 19th August, 1947, the asphaltting of this road is now nearing completion, the only large unfinished section being that from Km. 50 (Map I-39, D.A5794) to Kushk-i-Nusrat (I-39, C.A3770). On this section the laying of the soling it continuing fast and completion of the work should not be long delayed. The quality of the work varies by the contract sections, but where work was observed in progress the laying and rolling of the soling appeared to be done with care and skill and it is thought that the surface should last. The width of the asphalt is sufficient for two lines of traffic throughout. A considerable number of culverts, constructed of dressed stone, are being built to replace the "Irish" bridges of the original metalled road.

Appointments

13.—(i) Sartip Abbas Garzan (M.A. 68) to be G.O.C. 3rd (Eastern) Azerbaijan Division, *vice* Sarlashgar Fazlullah Humayuni (M.A. 82). According to the Chief of the General Staff, General Humayuni was relieved at his own request, having served continuously in various provincial commands for the past nine years. He is to be given a post in the General Staff.

(ii) Ahmad Akhzar, Deputy Chief of the Personnel Department of the M.F.A., to be vice-consul at Baku.

Obituary

14. On 26th September, Sartip Mehdi Quli Tajbaksh. He was retired in 1943. His last command was that of the Luristan Division.

American Interests

15. A delegation of American congressmen has arrived in Tehran from Turkey. Three army officers and a naval officer, Rear-Admiral Swanson, are attached to the delegation. The delegation was received in audience by His Imperial Majesty the Shah. At a press interview, the leader of the delegation, Mr. Short, stated that their objective in coming to Persia was "to ascertain the facts upon which American policy in Persia will be based."

Italian Interests

16. M. Alberto Russi-Longi has arrived in Tehran to assume the appointment of Italian Minister to Persia.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 39

Period ending 6th October, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 393 of 6th October; Received 16th October)

Persian Affairs

Political

The Majlis.—The debate on the Government's programme continued throughout the week, but no issues of importance were raised. Further attacks were made on the Prime Minister by M. Ahari, and Abbas Iskandari attacked M. Jam and M. Hazhir. On 5th October Qawam-us-Saltaneh made the closing speech in defence of his policy and requested a vote of confidence on the original ten-point governmental programme. This he obtained by 93 votes to 12, with 5 abstentions.

2. With reference to paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary, Abbas Masudi claims that his proposal is meeting with universal approval. Indeed, from casual conversation with Persians of all shades of opinion (except those of the Tudeh group), it appears that public opinion is in favour of the scheme. As is usual with Persians, the practicability of the plan has not received much consideration (*i.e.*, the availability of Persians as technical experts): but it has gained favour more on political grounds as the best way out of the present *impasse*. Firstly, it does not give the concession to the Russians; secondly, it does not provoke them by giving it to a foreign concern, possibly contrary to the original agreement; and, finally, any accusation of a dog-in-the-manger attitude in failing to utilise the oil is thereby avoided.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

3. Reference paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary: the Chief of the Persian General Staff informed the British Military Attaché that their estimate of Soviet troops on the Azerbaijan frontier was:—

- (i) Two regiments of infantry, plus two batteries of 105-mm. guns, at Pul-i-Dasht (Araplar) (J-38 D., R. 66).
- (ii) The same strength at Khuda Afarin (J-38 E., T. 23).
- (iii) The same strength, plus 150 tanks, at Julfa.

He neither confirmed nor denied the fortification of the Darreh Diz defile. His Majesty's Consul-General, Tabriz, reports that the Persians have concentrated their troops in Marand, between Marand and Khoi, and between Khoi and Maku. These units are from the central garrison.

4. The Chief of General Staff also stated that the number of "muhajirs" removed to Badrabad for screening has now reached the total of 1,600.

5. Further Russian reactions to the clean-up of these suspects are being heard, and *Pravda* of 23rd September carried a message to the effect that persons who have visited the Soviet Union at any time, or who have trade connexions with or are employed by Soviet concerns in Tabriz, are being arrested. It also asserted that the committee for aiding the repatriation of Armenians to their Soviet homeland is being repressed, and that the deputy chairman and secretary had been arrested.

Khorassan

6. A severe local earthquake was reported on 1st October from the Qain area with an estimated loss of life of 400 people at the village of Daulatabad.

Persian Army

7. The Soldiers' Athletic Club held a sports meeting at the Amjadieh stadium on 3rd October. The Shah emerged from his bed of sickness to show himself, plus a brand-new moustache, to the assembled people. The head of the club, Sarhang Baharmast, opened the proceedings with a speech of 18 minutes' duration, thereby outdoing all other events, except the football, by some minutes and severely testing the endurance of his audience. The rest of the programme was enjoyable, and some good performances were seen.

Appointments

8.—(a) Civil—

- (i) Abdul Husain Mas'ud Ansari (F.O. 10) from Governor-General of Gilan to be Governor-General of Isfahan.
- (ii) Agha Divanbegi (F.O. 36) to be Governor-General of Gilan.

(iii) Ibrahim Zand (F.O. 179) to be Governor-General of Kerman.

(b)—(i) Sarhang (Police) Muhammad Husain Sari-Arslani from Chief of Police, Abadan, to be Chief of Police, Khuzistan, *vice* Sarhang Mujab, recalled.

(ii) Sarhang (Police) Mustafa Alburz (M.A. 17) to be Chief of Police, Abadan.

American Interests

9. Reference paragraph 15 of last Intelligence Summary: it is now learned the delegation consisted of members of the Congress Standing Committee on the Armed Services. The delegation left Tehran for North Africa on 28th September.

Indian Interests

10. It is announced in the press that Ali Zaher has been nominated as first ambassador for India in Tehran.

Labour

11. Reference paragraph 8 of Summary No. 35: the Labour Attaché of this embassy reports that the commission appointed in July by the High Labour Council to investigate complaints of non-observance of the Labour Law by the Caspian fisheries has now returned to Tehran after spending six days at the

fisheries. The chairman of the commission (a lawyer employed by the Ministry of Labour) states that the Russian management was extremely co-operative, that the Labour Law was discussed article by article, and assurances of future observance were given. Major items were: an undertaking by the fisheries to pay contributions to the factory Health and Aid Fund (2 per cent. by employer and 1 per cent. by worker); a promise to pay a minimum monetary wage of 35 rials per day, and a promise to permit the establishment of factory councils to which the workers' representatives would be elected by free vote of all workers. The fisheries also agreed to purchase certain commodities, such as food and clothing, in bulk, and to sell these at a low price through a form of co-operative to the workers. A *procès-verbal* embodying the decisions reached in agreement has been prepared, the fisheries stipulating only that *procès-verbal* should be worded to imply that the management of the fisheries is already implementing these promises, or that it has decided of its own accord to grant these concessions; the *procès-verbal*, in other words, is not to indicate that the Persian Ministry of Labour has imposed any orders on the fisheries.

E. 9882/17/34

No. 109

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 40

Period ending 14th October, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 405 of 15th October; Received 23rd October)

Persian Affairs

Political

After the brief appreciations in previous issues of this summary of the oil problem and the difficulties facing Qawam-us-Saltaneh in finding a solution to it, some surprise may have been caused by the statement in paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary to the effect that the Prime Minister had obtained his vote of confidence by a large majority. That he had asked for it to be taken on his ten-point governmental programme was stated, but it was learnt later that he had secured it only by giving an undertaking to present to the Majlis without delay a report covering certain of his past activities, particularly his visit to Moscow, his draft oil agreement with

Sadtchikov, the discussions leading up to the evacuation of Azerbaijan by Soviet troops and his negotiations with Pishevari, the leader of the Azerbaijan Democrat movement. He would, he promised, then declare the matter open to debate. This undertaking he has now mentioned three times, viz., in an interview accorded to the editor of *Ittelaat*, to the Majlis and in an interview to two correspondents of the United Press. In a leading article entitled "Half a Step" the *Journal de Téhéran* contrasts this undertaking with Qawam's previous statement to a visiting correspondent of *Le Monde*, to whom he said that he would present without defending his draft agreement concluded with Sadtchikov to the Majlis and leave it to that body to accept it or reject it. This procedure, says

the *Journal*, would have been inevitable, since to present it in the shape of a Bill would entail previous acceptance of it and signature by the Council of Ministers and inclusion of it in their list of Bills for subsequent presentation to the Majlis. In view of the strong opposition to the agreement from all over the country, it would have been impossible for Qawam to obtain the signatures of his Cabinet.

The Majlis

2. The question of Persia's adherence to U.N.E.S.C.O. was debated and a single-article Bill to provide for this passed its first reading.

3. The half-yearly election of the presidential body of the Majlis took place during the past week. Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, was re-elected President. Amir Husain Zafar Bakhtiari (Dizful) and Jawad Ganjai (Tabriz) were elected Vice-Presidents.

The Elections

4. It is learned on fairly good authority that Abul Fath Daulatshahi will be elected to fill the Sabneh seat at the by-election necessitated by the death of Dr. Muawin. Abul Fath is a brother of the late Mujallal-ud-dowleh, Minister of Court for a while to Reza Shah. They are uncles to his third Queen, Ismat-ul-Muluk.

Internal Security

Tribal—General

5. The Chief of the General Staff on 13th October gave the British Military Attaché the following rough figures regarding tribal disarmament:—

- (a) Number of rifles, pistols and machine-guns collected from Kurdistan and Azerbaijan 60,000, out of which 60 per cent. were Persian army weapons lost at the time of the surrender of the garrisons in those areas.
- (b) Number of rifles collected from other tribal areas in Persia 11,000.
- (c) Number estimated to be still in tribal hands 120,000, out of which 85 per cent. were in Fars and Khuzistan (among the Bakhtiari, Qashqai, Kuhigilu, Mamassani and Boir Ahmadi).
- (d) Number reissued on licence for protection of crops and flocks, for purposes of sport or to approved tribal leaders for local protection, 12,000.

Fars

6. On 13th October the Chief of the General Staff expressed to the British Military Attaché his dissatisfaction over the Qashqai disarmament. Initially some progress had been made in weaning the tribal chiefs away from the baneful influence of Nasir Khan and his three brothers. This had been achieved by direct negotiation with the former and also by supplying rationed commodities for the tribesmen direct to the headmen of the sub-tribes instead of allowing them, as hitherto, to pass through the sticky fingers of the four brothers. The Chief of the General Staff also mentioned with gratitude the sound advice given to Nasir Khan by His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reported by him to the G.O.C. and Governor-General and, in turn, by the G.O.C. to the General Staff. Nasir Khan's arrival in Tehran, said the C.G.S., augured well for a peaceful rendition of the arms but, to his annoyance, Nasir Khan had since gone back on his word and was once more in recalcitrant mood and was being sustained in this mood by no less a person than the Prime Minister, who had made it known to the Minister for War that he would not sanction any military operations in Fars against the Qashqai and that he saw no reason for sending Nasir Khan on a protracted holiday abroad. The situation, therefore, said the Chief of the General Staff despondently, was back where it had been six months ago.

Azerbaijan

7. The Chief of the General Staff informed the Assistant British Military Attaché on 8th October that the additional Soviet troops referred to in paragraph 3 of last Intelligence Summary were withdrawn from the frontier on or about 4th October and that the Soviet frontier garrisons were now back at their former strength. (The Chief of the General Staff's estimate of the increase was four times the normal, *vide* Intelligence Summary No. 34, paragraph 11.) On 13th October the Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché that observations of railway traffic in Russia on the Aras Valley line showed that about 75 per cent. of the departures had been towards Baku and not towards Erivan. The two days prior to their departure had been devoted to manoeuvres visible from Persian territory. Possibly connected with these movements may be a report dated 6th October from His Majesty's Consul-General, Meshed, who quotes Persian

sources as stating that heavy movements of Russian troops from East to West had been observed on that portion of the Russo-Persian border.

8. The Governor-General of Azerbaijan informed the British Military Attaché in Tabriz on 4th October that the number of "muhajirs" so far collected for screening was 2,700.

Khuzistan

9. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports that he recently received a visit from the Soviet Consul from Ahwaz. He was accompanied by his vice-consul and an interpreter. The object of his visit was to inspect the Russian ship *Cheta*, which had recently arrived from Odessa with 2,500 tons of sugar for the Persian Government. He also expressed his intention of visiting the oilfields of Masjid-i-Suleiman, Agha Jari and Gach Saran. He also suggested to His Majesty's Consul that they should go shooting together. (It is not known whether this is the same official who two years ago used occasionally to accompany British officers of South Persia Area on their shooting trips. That consul was armed with a seven-shot repeating shotgun with which he would nonchalantly traverse through 180° of the horizon. His lethal antics with that fearsome piece earned him the name of "Ivan the Terrible.")

10. According to His Majesty's Consul-General at Ahwaz the reports appearing in the Persian press concerning the disarming of the Boir Ahmadi tribe are exaggerated and premature. Probably not more than 150 old muskets have, as yet, been handed in.

The Court

11.—(i) Tehran radio announces that President Truman handed to Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf the order of the Legion of Merit which he has bestowed upon His Imperial Majesty the Shah "as a token of appreciation of his supreme co-operation in the prosecution of the war."

(ii) His Royal Highness Prince Abdur Reza Pahlevi is to return to Persia from the United States, where he has been studying in a university. He was the fourth son of Reza Shah by his third Queen, Esmat-ul-Muluk.

Communications

12.—(i) The road from Mahabad to Bukan (M.T. Routes in Persia, Vol. I, Route II E) is falling into disuse and

vehicles generally traverse the two sides of the triangle via Miandoab (Route II D). No repairs are being carried out on the direct route, which, after the coming winter's rains, will be impassable.

(ii) The route Saqqiz-Senneh (Route II B and C) is in a poor state and has had no improvements carried out on it since first made. (Reconnaissance by British Military Attaché 5th and 6th October, 1947.)

Persian Army

13. In addition to the air exercise mentioned in paragraph 10 of Intelligence Summary No. 38, troops of the 1st Tehran Division carried out short manoeuvres on 7th October near Tehran. His Imperial Majesty the Shah was present. The 2nd Division also carried out manoeuvres on 11th October. Foreign military attachés were not invited. These manoeuvres, the opening of the staff college, the air exercise and sundry lectures and conferences formed part of the military week staged for the benefit of provincial commanders now assembled in Tehran.

Labour

14. Habib Nafisi stated that he had been instructed by the Prime Minister on 8th October to prepare a draft decree to establish an independent Labour Ministry.

Appointments

15. According to the Persian press the Soviet Government have given their *agrément* to the appointment of Hamid Sayyah (F.O. 155) as Persian Ambassador to Moscow.

Arrivals

16.—(i) Musa Nuri Isfandiari, Muwaffaq-us-Saltaneh, from Angora to assume the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(ii) Taqizadeh, lately Persian Ambassador in London.

Chinese Interests

17. The Chinese Consulate at Meshed was closed on 1st October.

India and Pakistan Interests

18. The Persian press announces that, as a temporary measure, owing to the outbreak of cholera in India, all passenger traffic across the Perso-Pakistan frontier is suspended.

E. 10154/17/34

No. 110

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 41

Period ending 21st October, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 417 of 21st October; Received 31st October)

Persian Affairs

Political

No business of any interest was transacted in the Majlis during the past week and speculation continued rife as to how Qawam-us-Saltaneh would present his report, apologia or account of his stewardship (for it can be viewed in any of these three lights), *i.e.*, to the Majlis in open or secret session, or to a special committee of that body. He was due to do so on 19th October, but the minority absented themselves from the chamber, though present in the building, and thus prevented the necessary quorum being assembled. The Speaker announced that the next session will be on 21st October.

2. It is now learned that on or about 1st October the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs addressed a note to the Soviet Embassy representing that the apparent presence of large numbers of Soviet troops on the Russo-Persia frontier and the movement of these troops were giving rise to rumours calculated to disturb the area. The note asked that the troops should be removed so that the situation might return to normal.

3. In a decree dated 15th October, which contained twenty-one clauses, the Council of Ministers announced its intentions of reducing the number of Government employees, to weed out the inefficient or addicts to opium, alcohol or gambling, to refrain from engaging new staff, and from sending Government officials on needless commissions at home or abroad. The same pious intentions have been so often expressed in the past that no great importance need be attached to this latest utterance on the subject.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

4. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that, as the result of visible signs of military activity and of the further rounding up of "muhajirs" and some Armenians, public confidence is increasing. Naturally, some reports of discontent at the high-handed actions of the military are being heard, chiefly from the

Mahabad district. According to the Chief of the General Staff the number of "muhajirs" collected for screening had reached 3,000 by 13th October.

5. A most unfortunate article has appeared in the *Journal de Téhéran* of 16th October under the heading, "An American in Tabriz." It was written by Mr. Robert Miller, special correspondent of the United Press in Persia. Not only is it inaccurate in many details and grossly unfair to the Persian Government, but it will supply the Soviet Government with some excellent propaganda. It begins by saying that the Persian Government, fearing a Russian-inspired revolt in Azerbaijan, is busy removing thousands of those with Russian sympathies who might constitute a potential fifth column. The writer quotes the Governor-General's office as saying that, so far, 4,000 Russian sympathisers have been rounded up and banished, and that 4,000 more will be collected. (These figures differ by 3,500 from those given to the British Military Attaché by the Governor-General himself.) The use of the term "Russian sympathisers" is peculiarly mischievous, as it does not take into account the main reason for the round-up, *i.e.*, participation in armed rebellion against the Central Government. The writer describes the Azerbaijanis as cynical about the whole affair since, on the one hand, "many of those suspected of pro-Communist tendencies are still at large, having squared the authorities, and, on the other, many have been wrongfully accused by their political opponents." The authorities, says Mr. Miller, admit that mistakes may have been made, but the risk was too great to admit of leniency in cases of doubt. Tabriz, he says, is the centre of the war of nerves now being waged by the Russians, and many Tabrizis live in constant dread of invasion. The occupation of Azerbaijan by Left-wing elements and the setting up of a Communist Government would, writes Mr. Miller, be favoured by many of those Azerbaijanis who lived under the Azerbaijan Democrat régime, which lasted from December 1945 to December 1946 (actually November 1946).

That régime achieved more in a year than the Central Government did in a life-time. Did they not asphalt most of the streets? (As a matter of fact they asphalted two or three only, for which frontage holders had to pay.) Did they not erect municipal buildings? (The British Military Attaché has not seen them.) Did they not create a university? (They did not.) The régime, Mr. Miller concludes, was "absolutely just and progressive." (It is a pity that this mendacious scribe did not accompany the British Military Attaché on some of his tours of Azerbaijan before, during, and after the rebellion.)

Khorasan

6.—(i) A statement appeared in the *Journal de Téhéran* of 17th October to the effect that "martial law had been proclaimed at Muhammadabad to the south of the Caspian Sea on the Perso-Soviet frontier." Muhammadabad is, of course, the frontier town in Khorasan and lies about 300 miles east of the Caspian Sea. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 20th October that an armed gang of Tudeh supporters had been discovered there.

(ii) According to information reaching the Chief of the General Staff, the Red army garrison at Ashqabad now comprises two divisions, the increase from one to two having taken place during the past three months.

Baluchistan

7. More earthquakes have occurred since that of 1st October in the Qain area reported in paragraph 6 of Intelligence Summary No. 39. As the result of the more recent shocks, five villages in the Birjand area are said to have been destroyed.

8. In view of the cholera epidemic in India and Pakistan the Persian Government have decided, in addition to the measures mentioned in paragraph 18 of last Intelligence Summary, to suspend the train service between Mirjawa and Zahidan.

Fars

9. It is learned from the Chief of the General Staff, and confirmed by the United States Military Attaché, that Muhammad Husain and Khosro Qashqai have obtained visas for Switzerland and the United States. Nasir Khan having already resigned his parliamentary seat, the disappearance of these two brothers will deprive

the tribe of their representation in the Majlis.

Appointments

10. Muhammad Ali Humayunjah (F.O. 60) to be Persian Ambassador at Angora. He was acting Minister for Foreign Affairs for a while and after inclusion in Qawam's fifth Cabinet as Minister without portfolio was dropped for the sixth. How to find a job for this corpulent and pompous oaf has been a problem, but it is unfortunate, even allowing for the acute shortage of capable men in the Ministry, that the Persian Government should not make efforts to improve their relationships with their neighbour States by choosing more suitable diplomatic representatives. Humayunjah has been suffering from a prolonged bout of Malta fever and the "chef du protocole" remarked *sotto voce* to the British Military Attaché that "inshallah he might die on the way there."

The Courts

11. Her Royal Highness Princess Shams has paid a visit to Birjand to see the area where the earthquake recently occurred and to organise relief measures.

Administrative

12. For some time the Governor of Tehran has been styled Governor-General and the district has been considered as independent from the 2nd Ustan to which it officially belonged. Steps have now been taken to regularise this and the new province has now been announced as independent and including the districts of Qazvin, Saveh, Qum, Mahallat and Demavand.

Communications

13. Celebrations were held in the presence of His Imperial Majesty the Shah on 16th October to mark the 20th anniversary of the Iranian State Railway.

14. A communiqué issued by the Ministry of Roads and Communications states that the following new routes are to be constructed (in some cases existing routes to be repaired):—

- (i) The coastal road from Bandar Abbas to Lingeh of 700 kilom.
- (ii) The route from Kerman to Jerif.
- (iii) The route from Zahidan to Iran-shahr.
- (iv) The repair of the road from Bandar Abbas to Lar of 259 kilom.

British Interests

15. The British Consulates at Kerman and Bandar Abbas were closed on 14th and 18th September respectively. The British Consulate at Zahidan remains open temporarily till it is decided whether the Dominion of India, or Pakistan, or both, intend to take it over.

American Interests

16. The American Ambassador, accompanied by his wife and his air and press attachés, left by air on 16th October for Angora. The party is expected to return on 20th October. Though the trip is thought to be purely a pleasure one, the Persian press has made great play with it, hinting darkly that the ambassador has gone to concert military measures with Turkey or, alternatively, that, having secured the ultimate rejection of the Bill for the Russian oil, he wished to absent

himself from Tehran when the issue comes up before the Majlis.

17. Moscow radio, in its 6.30 p.m. broadcast on 16th October, quoting from the Persian newspaper *Nasim-i-Saba*, made a violent attack on the Americans in Persia. They were accused of inciting the Qashqai and Bakhtiari tribes to refuse to surrender their arms, of gun-running in the Gulf to supply these tribes with arms, with requesting naval bases in the Gulf from the Persian Government, and of having organised a network of espionage throughout all tribal areas.

Danish Interests

18. On 14th October S.E. M. Axel C. F. Sporon-Fiedler, the newly-appointed Danish Minister, presented his letters of credence to His Imperial Majesty the Shah. On the same day letters of credence were also presented by the new Italian and Brazilian Ministers whose names have already been reported in these summaries.

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No. 111

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 42

Period ending 28th October, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 429 of 29th October; Received 5th November)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. At a session of the Majlis on 22nd October the Persian Prime Minister presented his long awaited report. As was expected, it covered almost all of his activities since assuming office twenty-one months ago. It described the political situation when he took over the premiership from Hakimi, his reasons for going to Moscow, his negotiations with M. Molotov (supported by copies of the correspondence), his negotiations to secure the evacuation of Persia by Russian troops, his negotiations with the Azerbaijan rebel Government, his actions in reoccupying Azerbaijan with Persian Government troops, his policy and actions in respect of the elections, and finally, the more recent exchange of letters with the Soviet Ambassador over the Russian oil demand, the name of which, it is now learned, was to have been "The

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Stalin Oil Company." He began to read the report at 6.30 p.m., and Ali Asghar Hikmat, Minister without Portfolio, took up the running at 7.30 p.m. and completed his task by 8.40 p.m. Thereupon Dr. Rezazadeh Shafaq (Democrat, Tehran) presented a draft Bill of a single article which, receiving "double urgency" procedure, was passed there and then by 102 votes to 2. The Prime Minister, after its first reading, had asked the Deputies to remember the grave importance of the occasion and the need for reflection before taking a decision. He opposed the adoption of "double urgency" procedure and declared that in his opinion the denunciation of the notes exchanged by him with the Soviet Ambassador in such a manner as to close the road to further negotiations with the Soviet Government was not in the interests of the country. (The position of Qawam's tongue in relation to his cheek while making this appeal is, unhappily, not

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recorded.) The translation of the best Persian text so far obtained runs as follows:—

Single Article—

- (a) Whereas the Prime Minister in good faith, and as a result of an interpretation of the meaning of the second article of the Law of 2nd December, 1944, undertook discussions for the drawing up of the agreement dated 4th April, 1946, regarding the creation of a mixed Perso-Soviet Oil Company; and whereas the Persian Majlis do not regard this interpretation as being consistent with the real purport and meaning of the afore-mentioned law, they consider the above discussions and agreement to be without effect and null and void. The third paragraph of the communiqué of 4th April, 1946, is also null and void.
- (b) The Government shall make arrangements for a technical and scientific survey with a view to the discovery of oil deposits, and shall, within a period of five years, draw and prepare complete technical and scientific maps of the oil-bearing areas of the country so that the Majlis shall be able, with full knowledge and information of the existence of oil in sufficient quantities, to make arrangements for the commercial exploitation of this national wealth by passing the necessary laws.
- (c) The grant of any kind of concession to foreigners for the extraction of the oil and its by-products of the country and the creation of any kind of company for this purpose in which foreigners are in any manner shareholders, is absolutely forbidden.
- (d) If, after the technical survey mentioned in paragraph (b), it is established that oil exists in commercial quantities in the northern areas of Persia, the Government are authorised to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government for the sale to that Government of the products of this oil and to inform the Majlis of the results.
- (e) The Government are charged in all instances where the rights of the people of Persia in the sources of the country's wealth, whether below or above the ground, have been im-

paired, especially regarding the oil in the south, to undertake the necessary negotiations and measures with a view to redeeming the rights of the nation, and they shall inform the Majlis of the results.

Note by Military Attaché

The last sentence of paragraph (a) refers to article (iii) of the agreement between the Prime Minister and the Soviet Government. The whole agreement (reported in paragraph 1 of Intelligence Summary No. 13 of 1946) ran as follows:—

- (i) The Russian military forces will evacuate Persia in the space of a month and a half from 2nd March, 1946.
- (ii) The agreement to create a Russo-Persian oil company and the conditions pertaining thereto will be proposed to the 15th Majlis after election within a period of seven months from 24th March.
- (iii) Concerning Azerbaijan, this being a Persian internal question, peaceful agreements will be sought between the Persian Government and the populace of Azerbaijan to achieve reforms in accord with existing legislation and in a spirit of understanding of the people's point of view.

2. That Qawam-us-Saltaneh has, from first to last, displayed statesmanship of a high, if oriental, order cannot be denied, and his stock has soared as the result both of his determination to reach a decision and of his tactics in portraying himself as the saviour of his country. If Dr. Shafaq's Bill and Qawam's last minute appeal to moderation can be regarded as a subtle cocktail compounded on the advice tendered by the British and Americans and of the wishes of the Persians themselves, then posterity may exclaim: "Persia can shake it." If Abbas Masudi sees in clause (b) acceptance of his contention that the Persians are technically and financially capable of exploring and exploiting their own oil resources, future historians may record that "Persia can make it." The Russians, whose rage at Qawam's apparent breach of an agreement can be well imagined, will be saying "Persia can break it."

3. Russian reactions to this snap decision were evident from a Moscow message from its Tass correspondent in Tehran dated

22nd October. After repeating the argument, so often used, that the Persian Government had agreed to sign an oil agreement, it goes on to accuse the Government of presenting its report to the Majlis in a form clearly indicating its disapproval of the agreement and in a manner calculated to secure its rejection. Qawam's policy is labelled as "perfidious." Dr. Tabah, a Majlis Deputy and nephew by marriage to the Prime Minister, informed the B.M.A. on 23rd October that three or four days previously in a Moscow broadcast, the Soviet Government had announced its intention of postponing for a year further talks with the Persian Government concerning the oil agreement. No confirmation of this can be secured from any other source. It is possible that the Soviet Government had at last realised the futility of their hopes of the measure being passed by the Majlis and had made the announcement as a face-saving device. It is obvious that no announcement made after 22nd October could achieve that object.

4. Apart from possible future Russian reactions, the only remaining point of interest lies in paragraph (c) and the degree of seriousness which need be attached to it. That a strongly nationalistic feeling about her oil resources has arisen in Persia is a tenable theory. That Persia, woefully short of money, especially in view of her development schemes, is casting about for new sources of revenue is a fact. The theory most widely accepted is that she may have hoped to forestall Russian resentment by this announcement of her intention to secure a modification in her favour of the terms of the A.I.O.C. concession.

5. During the closing stages of the Majlis debate, Abbas Iskandari (Hamadan, nominally Democrat, but almost certainly still of the Tudeh faith) insisted on the addition of another clause to Dr. Shafaq's Bill demanding the rendition of Bahrein to Persia. He grew obstreperous but was finally shouted down.

The Elections

6. In the by-election at Sauj Bulagh, caused by the rejection of the credentials of Isa Kohbud by the Majlis, the same candidate was re-elected. His rival, Seyyid

Muhammad Sadiq Tabatabai, has lodged an objection and an enquiry into the election proceedings is being held.

Internal Security

Baluchistan

7. No progress has been made in the settlement of the Helmand water dispute, and a deputation of the Ministry of Agriculture, which has been in Seistan for three months, has returned, having failed to reach any agreement with the local Afghan officials.

Commerce

8. A measure to restrict the activities of foreign business concerns in Persia has been submitted by Dr. Sajjadi, the Minister for National Economy, to the Council of Ministers, and has been approved of by that body. It will be presented to the Majlis at an early date.

The Court

9. The usual levee was held in the Gulistan Palace on 27th October on the occasion of the birthday of His Imperial Majesty the Shah. He is 28.

10. Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf returned to Tehran on 26th October by air from her journey to the United States, England and France.

Appointments

11. Ismail Majdi, formerly Persian Consul-General in Baku, has been appointed counsellor to the Persian Embassy in Moscow.

American Interests

12. Another congress delegation has arrived in Tehran. It consists of Miss Bolton and Mr. Chester Morrow and some technical advisers. It is being shepherded by Mr. James Moose of the State Department, formerly United States Consul in Tehran.

Turkish Interests

13. A team of Turkish athletes has arrived in Tehran. They comprise wrestlers and a football team.

Tehran, 28th October, 1947.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 43

Period ending 4th November, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran despatch No. 440 dated 4th November; Received 12th November)

Persian Affairs

Political

1. In paragraph 2 of last Intelligence Summary it was stated that Qawam-us-Saltaneh's prestige had soared as the result of his handling of the Russian oil question. From that, however, no deduction should be made to the effect that added prestige implies continuance in office in a country governed, not by policy but by personal intrigue, and among a people swayed more by rhetoric than logic. There are many reasons for which Qawam might fall, far-fetched as they will seem to anyone unacquainted with the illogicality of the Persians. Firstly, he has been successful—brilliantly and unexpectedly successful—and success itself in a land so accustomed to failure becomes at once the object of envy. Secondly, this success, in general, and his clever portrayal of himself as Persia's saviour, in particular, will increase the jealousy and suspicion which the Court party is known to harbour towards him. Thirdly, it must be realised that the overwhelming majority (of 102 to 2) which the Majlis gave him was not given in respect of his past achievements, his present policy or his promises for the future, but was given for the sole purpose of dealing a swift and decisive blow to the Russian oil demand. To a Persian there would be nothing illogical in declaring null and void the past undertakings of a Prime Minister and subsequently proceeding to impeach him in respect of those undertakings. Fourthly, and this may well prove to be the chief cause, the Persians are much given to change for the sake of change, even if the change be one for the worst and, in their opinion, twenty-one months of office and of the enjoyment of the fruits of office constitute a fair innings. Lastly, an idea seems to prevail that while the astute Qawam may have been the ideal leader of the country during its recent crisis over an external affair, he is too old, too conservative and too much implicated in the malpractices of his supporters to give a fearless and vigorous lead to the solution of the chief problem remaining, one of internal reform of every branch of governmental

activity. In the meanwhile his opponents are busy spreading rumours that he is sick and would be only too glad to lay aside the burden of office.

The Majlis

2. The incidence of three Persian holidays during last week has resulted in less work but more intrigue. An innocent Bill to provide funds for the official charitable institution, "The Red Lion and Sun Society," by levying a surcharge on registered mail, telegrams and parcels, was introduced by the Minister for Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, but encountered considerable opposition at its second reading, opposition directed, it is thought, not against the Bill as such but against the continuance in office of the Prime Minister.

Internal Security

Bakhtiari

3. Reference paragraph 11 (ii) of Intelligence Summary No. 37 it is now learnt that Amir Husain Zafar refused the appointment of Co-Governor of Bakhtiari. The Persian press announces that the notorious rogue Abul Qasim has been reinstated as Governor (actually he was never dismissed but was merely "retained in Tehran for consultations") and that Manuchihr Asad (son of the late Sardar Asad of the rival branch of the Ilkhani family) has been appointed Co-Governor.

Azerbaijan

4. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 3rd November that the total number of "muhajirs," men, women and children, so far removed from Azerbaijan to Luristan had now reached 5,000. About 400 "muhajirs" were estimated to be resident in Gilan and an equal number in Khorasan. It was proposed to remove these also. A much larger scheme was under consideration, said the C.G.S., namely the transplanting of the whole Caucasian element of Azerbaijan which would entail the movement of about 20,000 souls.

Finance

5. It is learned from a confidential source that the initial and personal reactions of an official connected with the International Bank to Mr. A. H. Ibtehaj's application for a loan of \$250 million were unfavourable. The seven-year development plan had not been worked out in detail. Many of its projects compared unfavourably in urgency and practicability with plans for European rehabilitation. The efficiency of the Persian Government was not high enough to warrant the hope that the money thus lent would in fact be spent on the projects for which it had been earmarked. Persia, it was thought, could finance a more modest two-year development plan out of her own revenues and it was not thought probable that the subscribers to this loan would be ready to guarantee the future political stability of Persia for so long a period as seven years. Steps have been taken to represent Persia's case in a more favourable light.

Commerce

6. A summary of the Bill restricting foreign traders' activities (presented to the Majlis by the Minister of National Economy—see paragraph 8 of last Intelligence Summary) is given as Appendix B to this summary.

Administration

7. Reference paragraph 12 of Intelligence Summary No. 41, it should have been stated that in order to form the new "ustan" (Governorate General) of Tehran the "shahristans" (Governorates) of Qazvin and Saveh have been removed from the 1st Ustan and that of Qum from the 2nd Ustan.

Honours and Decorations

8. A list of the more important decorations conferred on the occasion of the birthday of H.I.M. The Shah is given as Appendix A to this summary.

Appointments

9. Mahmud Mehran to be Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Education.

Arrivals

10. Dr. Musharraf Nafisi (F.O. 109). He has been in the United States for some time representing Persia on the International Bank.

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Departures

11. Hamid Sayyah (F.O. 155) to Moscow as Persian Ambassador. He will be accompanied as far as Baku by Behnam, the Persian Consul-General at that post.

American Interests

12. Yet another delegation of senators has arrived in Tehran. They number four and are said to be from the Financial Committee of the Senate.

Italian Interests

13. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs announces that the Persian Legation in Rome and the Italian Legation in Tehran are to be raised to the status of embassies.

Turkish Interests

14. Some unpleasant incidents have occurred during the visit of the Turkish athletes referred to in paragraph 13 of last Intelligence Summary. Their wrestlers defeated the Persians by six matches to two. Their football team beat an Isfahan team by 10 goals to 1, a Tehran team by 3 to 1, and drew with an "All Iran" team, the game being stopped on account of rough play. The Turkish Military Attaché, in conversation with the British Military Attaché, claimed that the Persians, unable to take a beating, had resorted to fisticuffs and had broken the noses of two of the Turkish players. The version of the affair, as given in the Persian press, stated that the Turks had started the fight, being unable to control their feelings when they saw Armenians playing in the Persian team.

Tehran, 4th November, 1947.

Appendix A

The Shah's Birthday Honours List.

(i) The Order of Humayun 1st class—

- Ali Asghar Hikmat (F.O. 58): Minister without portfolio.
- Hamid Sayyah (F.O. 155): Persian Ambassador to U.S.S.R.
- Baqir Kazemi (F.O. 78): Persian Ambassador to Scandinavia.
- Taqi Nabawi (F.O. 106): Persian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.
- Abul Hasan Ibtehaj (F.O. 62): Governor of the National Bank of Persia.

Ali Mutamedi (F.O. 104): Persian Consul-General in Delhi and Ambassador designate to the Dominion of India.
Yedullah Azudi (F.O. 22): Persian Ambassador to Brazil.

(ii) *The Order of Humayun 2nd class*—
Yusuf Shukrai: Master of Ceremonies in the Court.

(iii) *The Order of Taj 3rd class*—
Hormuz Pirnia: Master of Ceremonies in the Court.
Ghulam Ali Khajeh-Nuri (F.O. 81): An inspector in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (usually known as Nizam Kwajeh Nuri).

(iv) *Order of Humayun 3rd class*—
Ali Quli Ardalan (F.O. 14): Counsellor to the Persian Embassy in Angora.
Colonel (Dr.) Ayadi: Physician to H.I.M. The Shah.
Professor Yahya Adl: (a surgeon).
Husain Ali Qaragozlu (F.O. 132): A.D.C. (civil) to H.I.M. The Shah.

Appendix B

Summary of Bill Restricting Foreign Traders' Activities in Persia

(Proposed by Minister of National Economy)

1. Foreign individuals and companies hereafter may continue their trading activities only after obtaining an official permit from the Ministry of National Economy.

By trading activities is understood all occupations to which the commercial code is applied.

2. Official permits are valid only for one year and in them the kind of business will be registered. The holders can change their business only by the consent of the Ministry. Holders abiding by the prescribed rules are allowed to renew their permits for a further period of one year.

3. Persian companies with a stock of less than 30 per cent. of their capital held by Persians are considered foreign.

4. Foreign individuals or companies, before obtaining their permits must prove by bank certificates the transfer of their capital to Persia. The said capital must be transferred from abroad and changed into

rials. The amount should be proportionate to the extent and the kind of trade engaged in.

5. If permits are not renewed or if foreign companies and individuals now trading are unable to obtain the permit in the prescribed period, the transfer from Persia of their capital brought in the country according to the terms of article 4 is subject to the commercial code and the Ministry of National Economy's permission, through the export of permissible goods without any obligation to the exchange regulations.

6. Foreigners and foreign companies may transfer their profits out of the country up to 6 per cent. of the dividends.

7. Any foreign producer or wholesaler may open a branch or subsidiary company in Persia, but the staff must be either subjects of the original country of production or Persians. If a producer desires to open an agency, this must only be granted to Persian individuals or companies in which foreigners have no share.

8. The trade agencies representing the foreign Powers are dealt with according to trade agreements in force. Foreign subjects or companies who hold a legal concession will be dealt with according to the terms of their contract.

9. Foreign subjects or companies now in business in Persia should comply with this Act's terms within three months after it becomes law. If they continue their trade without the necessary permits they shall be forbidden to stay in the country.

10. Individuals or companies who have obtained the consent of the Ministry of National Economy and brought in means by which the national production is increased, shall, provided they have worked for at least five years at their projects, be allowed, if they wish, to transfer their capital out of the country. They shall be allowed to do this on condition they sell their plant and equipment in the country, and providing the amount taken out does not exceed the original capital plus 6 per cent. interest.

11. Cabinet decrees will fix the classes of trades exclusively reserved to Persian subjects.

12. Foreign individuals or companies shall benefit from the present articles if Persian subjects receive the same reciprocal benefits in the countries concerned.

13. To execute all the provisions of the present Act, a commission called the Supervisory Committee of Foreign Trading Activities will be set up in the Ministry of

National Economy. Its three members will be nominated amongst prominent members of the Ministry for two years by the Minister of National Economy.

14. The National Economy Ministry is charged with the execution of the present Act, and within a month all by-laws must

be drafted and submitted for the approval of the Council of Ministers.

(Signed)
The Prime Minister.
The Minister of Commerce
and Industry.

E 10854/17/34

No. 113

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 44

Period ending 11th November, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran despatch No. 450 of 11th November; Received 20th November)

Persian Affairs

Political

The Persians are in one of their most exasperating moods. They are crowing over their recent victory over the Russians without a thought for the possible consequences and, apparently, without a word of gratitude for the astute Qawam who brought it about. One might have expected them, having successfully passed through a major crisis in their history, to heave a sigh of relief, and to turn with renewed vigour to the task of internal reform. On the contrary, they have lapsed into a state of garrulous futility and can find nothing better to do than engage in endless intrigues to bring about the fall of Qawam and his Cabinet without pausing to think whether they have in readiness any better substitutes.

The Majlis

2. At the session of 4th November, Faramarzi (Lar, Independent) tabled a Bill for the abolition of military government in Tehran. The first reading was approved and the Bill was sent to the Justice Sub-Committee of the Majlis. A spirited discussion followed on the credentials of Hasan Arsanjani (Democrat, Lahijan). Ostensibly the objections against him were that he had on a former occasion advocated in his newspaper the retention of Russian troops in Persia. Since then he has entered the Democrat fold and was elected on the Prime Minister's instructions for Lahijan, the greater part of which district is owned by the Prime Minister himself. The voting for his credentials was fifty-four for acceptance and fifty-four for rejection. As he did not receive a majority they were rejected. Some commentators

see in the Bill to abolish military government (a powerful weapon in the Prime Minister's hands) and in the rejection of Arsanjani further indications of the growing opposition in the Majlis to the Prime Minister's continuance in office.

3. The resolution concerning the Russian oil demand passed by the Majlis recently has been embodied in a decree and signed by the Shah. A note was sent on 5th November by the Persian Prime Minister to the Soviet Embassy informing them of the rejection of the Bill for the formation of a joint Russo-Persian oil company.

Internal Security

Fars

4. His Majesty's Consul at Shiraz reports that General Muini, the General Officer Commanding, 6th (Fars) Division, is seriously ill and will have to take sick leave. His Majesty's Consul hopes that Muini's second-in-command, Brigadier Himmat, may be left in command as, though firm, he is a level-headed officer with a long record of good service in Fars. (He started his career in the South Persia rifles.) With Khosro Qashqai safely out of the way (see paragraph 11 below) and disarmament proceeding, albeit slowly, as the result of direct negotiation between the General Staff and the subordinate khans, it would be a great error to replace General Muini by some thruster who might well set Fars ablaze. (About 3,600 unserviceable and antiquated rifles have so far been handed in.)

5. Sarhang Fariborz, the honest, efficient and friendly chief of gendarmerie has been replaced by Sarhang Parvizi, about whom nothing is known.

Luristan

6. A delegation of some twelve Lur chiefs has arrived in Tehran for discussions with the Ministry of the Interior.

Kurdistan

7. A recent broadcast from Moscow gave publicity to a story that a certain Muhammad Hilmi had addressed a communication to United Nations Organisation asking that attention should be paid to the plight of the 9 million [*sic*] Kurds living in Turkey, Persia and Iraq, alleging that they had been deprived of their rights and forced to accept absorption in those three countries to the detriment of their national entity. Reference was made to the recognition of their national rights accorded to them after World War I. Persian Kurds have now written at length to the Central Government repudiating Hilmi's claims and affirming that they are contented to live under Persian rule.

Finance

8. The Persian Government published on 8th November the text of the agreement recently concluded between His Majesty's Government and the Persian Government regarding the convertibility of Persian-owned sterling deposits.

Labour

9. The file of Reza Rusta, secretary-general of the Workers' Central United Council, has been completed. His Bill of indictment has been referred to the Criminal Court by the Public Prosecutor, who has requested the death sentence for the accused on charges of smuggling and contrivance against the country's security (paragraph 12 of Intelligence Summary No. 15 refers).

Appointments

- 10.—(i) Mehdi Furuhan, formerly Persian Consul at Karachi, to be chargé d'affaires, Pakistan.
- (ii) Sufi Nia to be Governor of Tehran and Assistant Governor-General of the new "Ustan" of Tehran.
- (iii) Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Tehrani to be Under-Secretary of State to the Prime Minister.
- (iv) Hasan Nafisi, Musharraf-ud-dowleh (F.O. 109), usually known as Dr. Musharraf Nafisi, to be Economic Adviser to the Cabinet. He has been placed in charge of

Persia's seven-year development plan with the rank of Minister. (The appointment is an interesting one. Musharraf Nafisi is a man of outstanding integrity and ability, but is cynical, outspoken and uncompromising. Some financial fur may fly if he finds himself opposed, as he will be, when he starts to tread on the toes of Ibtehaj, Hazhir and Sajjadi, who, as governor of the National Bank, Minister of Finance and Minister of National Economy respectively, all have fingers in the development pie.)

Departures

- 11.—(i) Husain Ali, Kamal Hidayet (Nasr-ul-Mulk) (F.O. 76) to rejoin his post as Persian Ambassador at Kabul. He must have exonerated himself, for it was widely believed that he had been relieved of his duties on account of senility in general and of his incompetent handling of the Helmand water dispute in particular.
- (ii) Khosro Khan Qashqai to Switzerland.

British Interests

12. His Majesty's Ambassador returned to Tehran from the United Kingdom on 5th November.

Russian Interests

13. On the thirtieth anniversary of the October Revolution the usual evening reception was held in the Soviet Embassy on 7th November. No Persian Cabinet Ministers were present, as a protest, presumably, because two only had been invited, viz., the Minister for Foreign Affairs and A. A. Hikmat, Minister without portfolio and president of the Irano-Soviet Cultural Society. No Persian officers were present, though a number of high-ranking generals had been invited. The Soviet Ambassador having absented himself from the Shah's birthday levée it would appear to be "game all" in this rubber of diplomatic snubs.

Saudi-Arabian Interests

14. The Persian press announces that King Ibn Saud has addressed a note to the Persian Government expressing his desire to resume diplomatic relations.

Tehran, 11th November, 1947.

E 11358/17/34

No. 114

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 45

Period ending 18th November, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran despatch No. 459 of 18th November; Received 3rd December)

Persian Affairs**Political**

There is but little evidence on which to reassess the strength of the Prime Minister's position in comparison to the previous week. The activities of Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhir, the President of the Majlis, have increased but it is too early to say whether he has succeeded in obtaining sufficient support to enable him to stand as a successor to Qawam for the premiership. He has shown himself to be a skilful manipulator of the Majlis but he lacks moral principles and is, moreover, in the pocket of the Qashqai as his estates lie at their mercy. Virulent and scurrilous press attacks against Qawam continue. Most Persians believe that these are instigated by the Court and their effect has been opposite to that intended. They do not attract support for Qawam as a person who is being unjustly slandered but they do alarm many people who see in them increasing evidence of an intention on the part of the Shah to discredit Qawam, his Cabinet, the Majlis and the existing form of government in general.

The Majlis

2. At its session on 9th November the Majlis passed the credentials of Hasan Mukarram elected for Darajaz, and on 16th November those of Abbas Fazili and Muhammad Herati from Yezd. A budget Bill received its first reading and was sent to the finance sub-committee. A Bill for the exemption of agricultural machinery from customs duty was also introduced and a private members Bill for the better control of the press. The Prime Minister expressed himself as ready to reply to the interpellation of Rahimiyan but this was not pressed as the author had absented himself on the pretext of sickness. During the week a notable speech was made by Hasan Taqizadeh, lately Persian Ambassador in London, his first public utterance since his return. He made trenchant criticisms of the unwieldy size of the various Government departments; the hordes of unnecessary officials; the preva-

lence of corruption due, largely to inadequate salaries; nepotism; the venality of the ruling classes; the glaring inequalities in the distribution of the country's wealth and the unjust incidence of a form of taxation which fell upon essential commodities. It was a courageous speech and full of good sense but it will not further his chances of attaining to the premiership or even the speakership. It was not sufficiently Leftish to gain him the good graces of the Russians or the Tudeh who would require much more than that to cause them to overlook his recent opposition to their oil demands and his diplomatic associations with "reactionaries and imperialists." The Right, on whose support Taqizadeh must rely for election to either of those high offices, will be shaking in their shoes at his references to their venality and their preponderant wealth and will see in him an avatar of Dr. Millspaugh—that evil-minded man who had the temerity to propose that wealthy Persians should pay income tax.

Internal Security**General**

3. During the past week His Majesty's Consuls at Shiraz, Kermanshah and Tabriz have been informed by the local Persian authorities that certain restrictions have been placed on the residence and movement of foreigners. In paragraph 11 of Intelligence Summary No. 34 reference was made to the Chief of the General Staff's intention to lay down prohibited zones along the Iraqi-Persian and Turco-Persian frontiers. In conversation with the C.G.S. on 12th November the B.M.A. learned that in fact a prohibited belt has been proclaimed encircling the whole country. The places through which it runs are as follows:—

Khoi, Marand, Tabriz, Bostanabad, Sarab, Pahlevi, Gorgan, Gunbad-i-Qabus, Buinurd, Quchan, Meshed, Turbat-i-Shiekh Jam, Neh, Zahidan, Sirjan, Jahrum, Kazerun, Fahliyan, Behbahan, Ahwaz, Khurramabad, Shahabad, Sennendaj, Saqqiz, Mahabad, Rezaieh, and so back to the starting-point at Khoi.

The area lying between this line and the frontier constitutes the prohibited belt. The C.G.S. assured the B.M.A. that the convenience of the A.I.O.C. had been considered and that for travellers entering Persia by road the ordinary entry visa on their passport would suffice for a pass to traverse the prohibited zone. The C.G.S. went on to justify the measure by describing the improper activities of the Russian Vice-Consul at Maku in contacting the local tribes and gave the well-worn assurance that it was not directed against the British and that only the need for strict impartiality had forced him to extend the belt around the whole country. If, said the C.G.S., there were any suggestions which the B.M.A. had to make he would be very pleased to amend the instructions. The B.M.A. made the following observations:—

- (a) That if the Russian Consul had misbehaved himself, the more sensible course would have been for the Persian Government to ask for his removal and, if the offence was repeated by his successor, to ask that the consulate be closed. To permit the existence of a foreign consulate and then to restrict the consul's movements to a stone's throw from his residence appeared illogical. A taste for exploration, an interest in antiquities, a desire to get to know his district and the type of life led in it, sport, the return of social calls on prominent personalities, were all legitimate reasons for a consul's journeys. It was not where he went, but what he did was the important factor.
- (b) That the putting into effect of this order by provincial military authorities before foreign diplomatic missions had been informed of its issue by the M.F.A. was both incorrect and discourteous.
- (c) That only after careful perusal of the text could His Majesty's Embassy make their observations on it.

Azerbaijan

4. The C.G.S. informed the B.M.A. on 12th November that, as the camp at Badrabad in Luristan was full, further rounding up of the Azerbaijan "muhajirs" had ceased. A commission had been

assembled in Khuzistan under the presidency of the Governor-General to examine the possibilities of settling the muhajirs on some vacant land near Hindian (South of Behbahan).

Bakhtiari

5. A report which emanates from A. Bakhtiari Khan in bitter enmity to Abul Qasim and which, therefore, should not be regarded as entirely reliable, states that several of Abul Qasim's enemies, enraged at his reappointment as Governor, have assembled near Behbahan and armed their followers to a total of two or three thousand with a view to opposing Abul Qasim's return. Abul Qasim up till 14th November was in Isfahan.

Fars

6. Nasir Khan Qashqai has returned to Shiraz. According to the C.G.S. he is to return within forty days to render a progress report on the disarmament of his tribe.

Persian Army

7. According to the C.G.S. a representative of the American firm of Johnson Arms Manufacturing Company has arrived in Tehran on the invitation of General Muhammad Husain Firuz who was recently in the United States. He tried to sell a light machine gun which, apart from its being obsolescent, got red hot after sustained firing, choked its mechanism with dust and, being of a different calibre, would not accept Persian 7.9-mm. ammunition. His offer to change the barrel was not enthusiastically received. Now, it seems, he has urged the Persian Government to make greater use of its arsenals and factories by employing them in their spare time (20 hours out of 24) in manufacturing goods for civilian needs, especially agricultural machinery.

Labour

8. Reza Rusta (see paragraph 9 of last Intelligence Summary) has been set at liberty provisionally on bail of 1 million rials pending further investigation of the charges. Dr. Kishawarz, the Tudeh leader, stood security for him.

Appointments

9.—(i) Ahmad Ardeshtir, from head of the Passport and Nationality Department of the M.F.A., to be counsellor to the Persian Embassy at Kabul.

(ii) Baqir Varasteh, to be counsellor to the Persian Embassy in London. He was formerly Persian Vice-Consul at Quetta and more recently in the 3rd department of the M.F.A. (He married a daughter of the late Key Ostavan and is a pleasant mannered and co-operative young man.)

Resignations

10. Ibrahim Khwajeh Nuri from the post of Director-General of Propaganda and Publicity and under-secretary to the Prime Minister.

E 11360/17/34

No. 115

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 46

Period ending 25th November, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 468 of 26th November; received 3rd December)

Persian Affairs

Political

Moscow radio, in a broadcast on 21st November, accused the Persian Government of having pursued a hostile and discriminative policy against the U.S.S.R. in the matter of the proposed Russo-Persian Oil Company. After reiterating most of the arguments used on previous occasions it gave the text of a note which the Soviet Ambassador, on the instructions of his Government, addressed to the Persian Government on 20th November in reply to theirs of 5th November. This note sets out to prove that the Persian Government has broken its pledges in three ways. Firstly, Qawam-us-Saltaneh did not, as he had promised, submit to the Majlis a Bill for the establishment of the joint company but presented it in the form of a report on his previous actions couched in such terms as were calculated to secure its rejection. Secondly, Qawam-us-Saltaneh, in his note of 5th November, stated that the Majlis had declared as null and void the agreements which he had signed with the Soviet Ambassador on the grounds that they were in contravention of Dr. Musaddiq's law. This contention, the note says, is erroneous since that law referred to the granting of

Obituary

11. In Paris, Milikeh Jahan, widowed queen of Muhammad Ali Shah Qajar and mother of the late Ahmad Shah.

American Interests

12. The newspaper *Qiam-i-Iran* in its issues of 5th and 9th November published—presumably at Russian instigation—the extraordinary statement that five or six American Infantry Divisions were taking part in Persian army manoeuvres. This absurd fabrication has been officially denied by the Ministry of War.

Tehran, 18th November, 1947

concessions whereas the Russian request was for a joint Russo-Persian company. Thirdly, the date on which the Majlis had declared Qawam's previous undertakings as null and void was a year after the expiry of the period within which he had promised to submit the Bill to the Majlis. The Soviet Government, the note continues, cannot ignore the fact that while the proposal for their joint company had been rejected, the British still retain in the south their oil concession, an act of discrimination directed specifically against the Soviet Government. The note concludes by saying that the Persian Government's policy is inconsistent with the maintenance of friendly relations between the two Governments and that Persia alone is responsible for any consequences which may ensue.

2. Malik-ush-Shuara Bahar, the leader of the Prime Minister's Democrat Iran Party in the Majlis, has been ailing for some weeks. Rumours of dissensions within and desertions from the party are rife and it has become clear that many members of the party joined it only to secure lucrative office or election to the Majlis. Of some interest, therefore, is an announcement by Tehran radio of the election of the central committee of this party by secret ballot on

19th November. The names are as follows:—

Reza Hikmat, Sardar Fakhr, chairman (Speaker of the Majlis).
Abul Hasan Sadiqi.
Mahmud Mahmud (Governor-General of Tehran).
Reza Ashtianizadeh.
Musawizadeh (ex Cabinet Minister).
Hasan Arsanjani (editor of the party's organ).
Seyyid Hashim Vakil.
Nasir Quli Ardelan.
Ghulam Reza Fuladwand.
Zain-ul-Abdin Furuzeesh.
Ghulam Husain Furuhar.

The Majlis

3. No business of any importance has been transacted. One session was suspended out of respect to the memory of Hasan Herat Isfandiari. 23rd and 24th November were the ninth and tenth days of Muharram, and a Saturday was taken by most Government departments to extend the holidays from Thursday afternoon till Tuesday morning. Some discussion of the Budget Bill took place and further acrimonious debates on outstanding credentials ensued.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

4. His Majesty's Consul-General in Tabriz reports the arrest of some half-dozen leaders of an organisation styled the "Azerbaijan Revenge Party." Their leader was a certain Nasir Hilal. Incriminating documents of Russian origin were found on them. The story has also appeared in some of the Tehran newspapers in which they are described as "Pishevari's accomplices." The Chief of the General Staff, in conversation with the British Military Attaché on 19th November, also alluded to these arrests and claimed in them justification of his recent actions in imposing restrictions on the movement of foreigners in the prohibited belt (see paragraph 3 of last Intelligence Summary). He also stated that the vehicles of "Iransovtrans" (in the liquidation of which some difficulty has arisen) were being used by these conspirators to disseminate their propaganda.

5. A bill of indictment has been made out against Sarlashgar Hasan Muqaddam (F.O. 101—M.A. 123) on charges of

swindling the Government over grain purchases while Governor-General of Azerbaijan. Brief references to the malpractices of this rogue are given in the two personality notes referred to above. It is unlikely that anything will come of this. The case is five years old. The relevant documents will be "missing" from the file and a dangerous precedent might be established since scores of wealthy landowners were guilty in varying degrees of similar offences.

Khorasan

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Meshed reports some rounding up of "muhajirs" in Khorasan also some confiscation of illegal arms in the Quchan, Shirwan and Bujnurd areas.

Khuzistan

7. Colonel Muhammad Husain Sari-Aslani has been appointed Chief of Police of Khuzistan.

8. Work on the development of Bandar Mashur ($\frac{1}{4}$ " sheet H-39H. E 0359) by the A.I.O.C. is being pushed on. Some £80,000 is to be spent on embanked roads leading to the wharves. It is hoped that in a year's time 6 million tons of crude oil per year will be loaded on to tankers by the submarine pipe-line.

Baluchistan

9. His Majesty's Consul at Zahidan reports that Helmand River water had begun to flow into Zabul town on 13th November, but was insufficient to irrigate outlying villages. In the absence of any reliable reports by competent authorities it is still impossible to say whether the cessation of flow was due to natural seasonal causes or to diversion by the Afghans.

Persian Army

10. A party of about fifty officers and men, sentenced to varying long terms of imprisonment for complicity in the Azerbaijan revolt of last year, have been transported by a Persian naval sloop from Khorramshahr to Bandar Abbas where they are now lodged in the civil gaol.

11. On 16th November Moscow radio in its Persian transmission gave out that the Americans were busy constructing aerodromes in Persia as they were doing in Greece and Turkey. The Persian Ministry

of War has issued an official denial of this statement in so far as Persia is concerned.

Persian Navy

12. The Persian Chief of General Staff recently asked that the transfer by the Admiralty of the two ships earmarked for the Persian navy should be expedited. Enquiries from London, however, show that the Chief of General Staff was mistaken in affirming that the Persian Embassy in London had notified the Persian Government's agreement to the terms proposed by the Admiralty. All that they had done was to state orally that they might possibly agree to the last clause (relating to the waiving of all further claims) provided certain modifications to the ships were carried out, and provided certain extra equipment to a substantial amount was made available to the Persian navy. These stipulations, which amount to counter-proposals, are now under consideration by the Admiralty.

Communications

13. (a) Railways.—In the course of a press interview the Minister of Roads and Communications stated that work on the Qum-Kashan extension of the I.S. Railway, which ceased in 1941, has been restarted and rails have been laid for a distance of 12 kilom. from Qum. It is hoped to complete the line as far as Kashan by the end of the current Persian year (20th March, 1948).

(b) Roads.—The same source stated that the asphaltting of the Tehran-Qum road had now been completed except for a stretch of 3 kilom. which presented engineering difficulties.

The Court

14.—(i) His Royal Highness Prince Ghulam Reza, recently commissioned as second lieutenant after completion of his training as a cadet in the officers' training college, has been appointed as a special inspector in the Shah's military bureau.

(ii) His Royal Highness Prince Hamid Reza has returned to Persia. (This young

scamp is an embarrassment to the Court as he has run away three times from school. On the first occasion he made his own way from Beirut to Tehran; on the second he ran away from a school in the United States but was picked up on the Atlantic sea-board; on the third occasion he succeeded in reaching Paris by air, where he was collected and returned to the United States.)

Labour

15. The Bill to provide for a Ministry of Labour is still unpassed. It is true that the opposition in the Majlis would probably oppose any and every measure in order to embarrass the Prime Minister, but hostility to this particular Bill would be shown by the employers and their supporters who have learned but little from recent events and whose outlook is so reactionary that they would prefer to dispense with any such organisation or at least to limit its status to that of a small department subordinate to another Ministry on whom they could rely to protect their interests against anything so dangerous as labour reforms.

Appointments

16. Seyyid Jalal-ud-din Tehrani, whose appointment as Under-Secretary of State to the Prime Minister was recorded in paragraph 10 (iii) of Intelligence Summary No. 44, has since been appointed Minister without portfolio.

Obituary

17. Hasan Herat Isfandiari, Majlis Deputy for Sirjan. A nephew of the late Haji Muhtashim-us-Saltaneh, for many years Speaker of the Majlis, he was a comparatively unimportant member of the large and influential Isfandiari family.

Indian Interests

18. His Excellency Mr. Zahir Ali, the first ambassador to Persia from the Dominion of India, accompanied by his suite, arrived in Tehran on 21st November. The party had been detained in Zahidan for a few days on account of quarantine restrictions.

Tehran, 25th November, 1947.

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 47

Period ending 2nd December, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 481 of 2nd December.
Received 9th December)

Persian Affairs

Political

The Persian Government, in a note dated 24th November, replied to the Soviet Ambassador's note of 20th November (see paragraph 1 of last Intelligence Summary). It set out to refute the arguments used in the Russian note by making three main points. Firstly, Qawam-us-Saltaneh had not evaded his undertakings in presenting his report to the Majlis for he was in duty bound to report all his negotiations to that body before they could have the semblance of legality. Secondly, the delay was no fault of his. The Majlis could not come into being till the elections were completed, and the elections could not be begun till order and tranquillity were restored to the country (a nicely veiled allusion to the Russian-sponsored rebellion in Azerbaijan). Thirdly, the charge of discrimination could not be upheld against the Persian Government since, according to the law just passed, they proposed to sell their oil to the Russians and to forbid all future foreign concessions, thus dispelling any Russian fears of a foreign concession near her frontier.

2. The Prime Minister's position has not improved. Evidence of the growing hostility of the Majlis is afforded by the obstruction shown by the Deputies, excepting a hard core of his supporters from among his Democrat Iran Party numbering some forty-five, to any and every measure brought forward by the Government. The refusal to vote money is, naturally, the most crippling blow to the Government. The hostility of the Court Party to the Prime Minister is as implacable as ever. More recently Sardar Fakhir, the Speaker, interviewed by journalists representing papers hostile to the Prime Minister, not only allowed criticism of the Prime Minister and his party, to the chairmanship of which he has just been elected, to remain unanswered but actually promised to take independent action to redress their grievances. He is reported to have gathered round him some thirty disgruntled members of the party who, together with

some thirty "independents" and others in opposition may amount to sixty odd—a number large enough to ensure an Opposition majority powerful enough to bring all Government business to a standstill and force the Prime Minister to resign.

The Majlis

3. The Budget Committee of the Majlis presented its report to that body on 29th November. The Finance Minister had failed to secure support for the passing of the budget as a whole as, in the opinion of the Deputies, this would have been interpreted as a blanket sanction for all the extra expenditure incurred by the Government as a result of the financial effect of the numerous decrees issued by it during the period when no Majlis was in being. Some other proposals were made and then withdrawn and, finally, after much discussion, the Majlis passed a purely stop-gap measure authorising the payment of ordinary and extraordinary expenditure and the salaries of Government officials up till 22nd December on the basis of the expenditure incurred during the period 24th September–23rd October of this year.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

4. A general amnesty had been granted by His Imperial Majesty the Shah to the inhabitants of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Khamseh (Zenjan) in respect of their actions "subsequent to November 1945 provided that, hereafter, they do not indulge in subversive activities." Its wording is typically vague and its exact significance can only be gauged by the manner in which it will be interpreted by the local authorities. The Chief of the General Staff, in conversation with the British Military Attaché on 1st December, explained that the amnesty was in respect of those who had been drawn into the Azerbaijan Democrat movement, *e.g.*, by accepting office under it and was not applicable to active participants or to those who had taken up arms against the State.

5. Rumours of impending Russian-aided infiltrations into Azerbaijan by Barzanis and Democrat rebels, who fled into Soviet territory when the rebellion collapsed in November 1946, have frequently been heard ever since the Soviet Government began their war of nerves against Persia some months ago. The latest addition to the crop is an article in the Persian newspaper *Atish* from its special correspondent who, in the course of a visit to Azerbaijan, claims to have discovered a plan for the invasion of Persia by these elements. The Barzanis and Armenian "muhajirs" are to cross the frontier between Maku and Julfa and, after making contact with disaffected Kurdish tribes, are to seize Rezaieh and Mahabad. Pishevari and Ghulam Yahya, the latter miraculously restored to life, apparently, after his fatal motor accident in Baku, at the head of 5,000 or 6,000 Democrats are to enter Persia between Astara and Ardebil in the jungles of Namin, and after a somewhat tortuous ascent of the Kizil Uzun valley are to seize Mianeh. The star rôle has been reserved for no less a person than Muzaffar Firuz who, in command of a force of Turki-speaking "muhajirs," is to invade Gilan and Khorasan, bestriding, so as to speak, the Caspian Sea in the course of his advance on Tehran. He is doubtless at this moment taking an intensive course in Turki in his hotel in Paris. The attacks will be co-ordinated to begin on 13th December. The lorries of Iransovtrans are to be used to keep the three columns supplied with ammunition. To allow for the passage of these columns the electrically charged fence along the Soviet frontier has already (rather prematurely) been cut in several places. This amazing disclosure is attributed variously to (i) Russian propaganda designed to keep the Persians in a twitter, (ii) Persian genius for fanciful narration, (iii) an attempt by the Prime Minister to rally support in the face of this grave danger—a danger from which the Grand Old Man will surely extricate his country as he has done in the past, (iv) an attempt by the Prime Minister's opponents to discredit him by proving that, as long as he remains in power, his unpopularity with the Russians must result in a permanently threatening attitude towards Persia on the part of Russia. Very probably all four reasons are correct. The Russians put it round. The Persians embroidered it. The Prime Minister saw in it a means of strengthening his position at the same

moment as his opponents saw in it a weapon to use against him.

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that the arrests in connexion with the "Azerbaijan Revenge Party" (see paragraph 4 of last Intelligence Summary), now total thirty.

7. A professional staff has been sent from Tehran to start the new University of Tabriz.

Bakhtiari

8. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché that he was fully aware of the bellicose intentions of Abul Qasim's rivals (alluded to in paragraph 5 of Intelligence Summary No. 45), and had despatched Manuchihr Asad (whose appointment as Co-Governor of Bakhtiari was mentioned in paragraph 3 of Intelligence Summary No. 43), to the south to warn the Khans of the consequences of any disturbances which they might create and, at the same time, to urge them to hand in their rifles before Government took forcible measures to collect them. According to information given by the Chief of the General Staff to the British Military Attaché on 1st December, the concentrations of Abul Qasim's rivals are at Izeh (H.-39B., U. 5903) and Baba Ammad (I.-39T., U. 1052), with a view to barring Abul Qasim's approach to the winter quarters of the tribe by the two practicable routes. The Chief of the General Staff does not take a serious view of the situation.

Fars

9. The 6th (Fars) Division has established a garrison of one battalion at Firuzabad, the winter headquarters of the Qashqai tribe, about 60 miles south of Shiraz. The occupation was effected without any interference by the tribes. This is not one of the permanent garrison towns and its occupation is plainly a threat to Nasir Qashqai made in order to urge him to greater speed in the surrendering of tribal arms to Government. The influence of Nasir Khan and his three brothers has diminished since the local military commander and the Governor-General established direct relations with the subordinate chiefs of the Qashqai confederation, *i.e.*, the Darrehshuri, Kashguli, &c. An even greater blow was struck at the four brothers when rationed commodities were delivered directly to the tribal Kalantars (headmen), thus depriving Nasir Khan of a vast income

made by selling the tribesmen's rations on the black market in Shiraz. Now, with that hot-head Khosro out of the country and a military garrison established in the tribal centre, disarmament of this powerful tribe should be relatively easy.

Communications

16. The railway bridge over the Qizil Uzun river in the Qafan Kuh gorge, which was partially destroyed by the Azerbaijan Democrat rebel forces in November 1940, has been repaired, and the first train crossed it on 27th November. Mianeh thus once again becomes the railhead on the north-western branch of the I.S. Railway, the extension of which to Tabriz is now under construction.

Appointments

11. Bidar to be Public Prosecutor, vice, Pirasteh, relieved of his duties. There are reports which, though persistent, are far from being confirmed, to the effect that Pirasteh incurred the disfavour of the Prime Minister on account of his too vigorous prosecution of Reza Rusta, for

whom he demanded the death penalty for acts of treason.

Egyptian Interests

12. Husain Aziz, counsellor to the Egyptian Embassy in Tehran for the past three and a half years and chargé d'affaires since the departure of Mahmud Sabit Bey the ambassador, has left Tehran on transfer to another post. His Imperial Majesty the Shah has bestowed upon him the Order of Humayun.

Yugoslav Interests

13. The usual reception was given at the Yugoslav Legation on 29th November on the occasion of the anniversary of the foundation of the Yugoslav Republic. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has issued a communiqué stating that the absence of Persian Government officials from the reception, though invited thereto, was out of reciprocity, members of the Yugoslav Government having absented themselves from a reception given at the Persian Legation in Belgrade on the occasion of the Shah's birthday on 27th October.

Tehran, 2nd December, 1947.

E 11941/17/34

No. 117

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHÉ'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 48

Period ending 9th December, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran Despatch No. 495 of 9th December; Received 16th December)

Persian Affairs

Political

With the single exception of the Prime Minister, the Government resigned on 4th December. It is believed that the Shah instructed the Ministers to take this course in order to force the Prime Minister to resign. The latter has stated that he obtained a vote of confidence from the Majlis on assuming office and will not resign until he is defeated in the Majlis. Up till the present the deadlock continues. Reza Hekmat, Sardar Fakhir's group of dissidents, is believed to number sixty-one, and it is said that they are anxious to press for a vote in the Majlis for or against Qawam-us-Saltaneh as soon as possible.

2. The Soviet Ambassador has addressed a further note, dated 1st December, in reply to that of the Prime Minister of 24th

November. This latest note merely states that the Persian Government's note did not refute any of the Soviet Government's arguments, but, in fact, confirmed them. The Soviet Government, therefore, reaffirms the contents of its previous note (dated 20th November).

3. In order to prevent disturbances during the present political crisis the Military Governor of Tehran has prohibited public meetings of more than three people.

The Majlis

4. On 30th November the Prime Minister had intended to make a long speech in the Majlis to rally his party and silence his opponents. The Opposition, having failed to obtain an advance copy and fearing that, after making his speech, the Prime Minister might attempt to obtain a snap

vote of confidence, adopted their usual tactics of absenting themselves and thus preventing the assembly of the necessary quorum. The proposed speech was, however, delivered by the Prime Minister in the form of a broadcast.

5. The Prime Minister's broadcast of 30th November was a lengthy one. He covered most of the ground covered in his previous speeches, but dwelt on the necessity for national unity in the present crisis. He was at pains to disprove any hostility on the part of the Persian Government towards the Soviet Government either in their recent actions or in their present policy. The most interesting points were his references to the A.I.O.C. concession and Bahrein. Regarding the former he actually stated that talks in respect of the concession were in progress and in respect of Bahrein he said that it was an inalienable part of Persian territory and that he would make every effort to restore it to the motherland. His reference to the concession was a misstatement. No talks on a revision of the concession are in progress, though more than one member of the recent Cabinet has let it be known that the Persian Government would welcome some financially helpful gesture on the part of the company. The Prime Minister's reference to Bahrein is also strange in that on a previous occasion he had personally intervened in order to eliminate a reference to this subject in the single-article Bill passed by the Majlis when rejecting the proposal for a joint Russo-Persian oil company. Doubtless the inclusion of these two subjects in his recent broadcast was designed to rally support by appealing to Tudeh or to ultra-nationalist elements.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

6. His Majesty's Consul-General at Tabriz reports that during the past week further reinforcements for the Azerbaijan divisions have been arriving from the south, and that he sees a tendency to replace Tabriz-born soldiers by new arrivals. (It should be borne in mind that this is the month for the bi-annual intake and release of conscripts.) The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 8th December that he intended to reinforce the Ardebil brigade, which at present consists only of an infantry regiment and some artillery at Ardebil and a cavalry regiment at Mishkinshahr. An

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additional regiment is to be located at Sarab.

7. From the same source comes a report that the Shahsavan tribes are being armed and trained by the Persian Government in the Arasbaran district.

8. To allay public anxiety the curfew in Tabriz has been put forward from 11 p.m. to 10 p.m.

9. The rumours relating to Russian-aided infiltration into Azerbaijan by Kurdish, Muhajir and fugitive Democrat rebels were fully reported in paragraph 5 of last Intelligence Summary. No additional evidence to prove their truth has been received during the past week. Four possible reasons for the spreading of the rumour were given in the last Intelligence Summary, but, in view of its reputed origin in either General Shahbakhti, a solid Shah's man, or in the newspaper *Atish*, popularly supposed to be subsidised by the Court and army, a fifth reason may well prove to be the right one, i.e., that the Shah and army have put it round in order to enlist public support in Persia and in the United States for their request for a gift of American military equipment.

Fars

10. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 8th December that, so far, Nasir Khan Qashqai had only handed in about 300 rifles since his return to Fars in mid-November. The Chief of the General Staff estimates the number of rifles still in Qashqai hands as 10,000, out of which 4,000 are of Persian army (B.R.N.O.) pattern.

Bakhtiari

11. The Chief of the General Staff informed the British Military Attaché on 8th December that, in order to avoid a clash between the rival Bakhtiari Khans, Abul Qasim had been instructed to stay at Shahr Kurd near Isfahan, while Manuchihr Khan, with his headquarters at Ahwaz, tried to induce the tribal concentrations to disperse from Izeh and Baba Ahmad.

Khuzistan

12. His Majesty's Consul at Khorramshahr reports that an increasing number of Armenians, Assyrians and Jews from Rezaieh district are seeking employment with the A.I.O.C. This may be due to a partial exodus of these minorities from Azerbaijan in order to escape the recent

rounding up by the Persian military authorities.

Persian Navy

13. The officer in charge of the salvage vessel of the Royal navy recently operating in the Abadan neighbourhood reports that the Persian sloop *Palang* (sunk by the British forces at the time of their entry into Persia in 1941) has been refloated, towed down stream below No. 26 Jetty of the A.I.O.C. and beached. The *Homa* (ex Sheikh of Muhammerah's steam yacht *Ivy*), which, disintegrating from old age had sunk at her moorings near the confluence of the Karun and Shatt-el-Arab, has been refloated, towed 500 yards up stream and beached on the Abadan bank of the Karun.

Persian Gendarmerie

14. The *Journal de Téhéran*, in its issue of 2nd December, stated that the Ministry of the Interior had decided upon a new organisation for the Persian gendarmerie to conform with the present civil administrative divisions of the country. Each Governorate-General (Ustan) is to have its gendarmerie regiment; each governorate (Farmandari) its battalion and its district

(Baksh) its company. This new organisation, the article states, has already been introduced in Azerbaijan, Gilan and Kermanshah, and will be introduced in the near future into the remaining Ustans. The plan, therefore, provides for ten Ustan regiments, one independent regiment in Baluchistan (the status of which is something between an Ustan and a Farmandari) and a motorised regiment in Tehran.

Appointments

15.—(i) Sartip Haidar Quli Beglari (M.A. 47) has taken up the appointment of second in command of the VIth (Fars) Division. Sartip Himmat (M.A. 81) remains as adviser on tribal affairs, an appointment existing formerly in all divisions having tribes in their area and recently revived.

(ii) Sultani, Governor of Abadeh, to be Governor of Fasa.

Russian Interests

16. His Majesty's Consul at Resht reports that the Russian Vice-Consulate at Gurgan has been raised to a consulate and that a M. Niazov has been appointed to the post.

Tehran, 9th December, 1947

E 12290/17/34

No. 118

PERSIA: MILITARY ATTACHE'S INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY No. 49

Period ending 16th December, 1947

(Communicated in Tehran despatch No. 504 of 16th December; received 29th December)

Persian Affairs

Political

The statement in paragraph 1 of military attaché's Intelligence Summary No. 48 that with the single exception of the Prime Minister the Government resigned on 4th December is not entirely accurate. In fact three other members, two of whom were at the time away from Tehran, did not then resign.

2. The Majlis failed to make up a quorum on three occasions in the early part of last week. On 9th December a letter from Qavam, the Prime Minister, was read in the Majlis, in which he asked the Majlis to hear his statement at an open session. This was agreed, and Qavam accordingly read his statement, which lasted about half

an hour, at a meeting of the Majlis on the evening of 10th December. He dwelt on the service of his Government, such as the liberation of Azerbaijan. He then asked for a vote of confidence and left the Majlis.

Votes were taken as follows:—

Number of Deputies present	112
Votes in favour	46
Votes against	39
Abstentions	22
Votes in favour but not signed	5

By Persian law, to obtain a majority, more than half the number of Deputies present must vote in favour. It is not sufficient to obtain a majority of the votes actually cast. Thus, there were more votes in favour of Qavam than against, he failed to get a majority and his Government falls.

3. On 11th December the Speaker of the Majlis, Sardar Fakhir Hekmat, informed the Shah of the adverse vote of the Majlis towards Qavam, and was told to ascertain the views of the House regarding the choice of a new Prime Minister. After various deliberations, the Majlis decided, on 14th December, to recommend to the Shah that Sardar Fakhir Hekmat be appointed Prime Minister. The voting in the Majlis was as follows:—

In favour of Sardar Hekmat	72
In favour of Dr. Mossadegh	31
Abstentions	3

4. On the evening of 14th December, the dissident members of the Democrat Party seized by force the party headquarters and offices of its official newspaper, *Democrate Iran*. They have since elected a new committee and are endeavouring to obtain control of the party funds.

5. On leaving the Majlis on 13th December Shahah Khosrovani was suddenly attacked with a knife by a man named Ibrahim. According to the paper *Kaihan* the assailant stated that he was a peasant working on the M.P.'s lands and had some grievance. No political significance is attached to this attack.

Internal Security

Azerbaijan

6. The *Journal de Téhéran* on 11th December reported a general tightening up of security measures in Azerbaijan, including:—

- Security checks on trains on the line Julfa-Tabriz.
- The division of the province, from a gendarmerie aspect, into ten areas to facilitate control.
- Imposition of a curfew (already reported in previous Intelligence Summaries).

The consul-general, Tabriz, reports that the number of military and gendarmerie patrols have been increased recently.

7. During a recent interview with the military attaché, the Chief of the General Staff stated that he had reason to believe the Russians are operating a mobile radio transmitter on the Trans-Caucasian railway along the Azerbaijan frontier, and that it frequently changes its position on the railway. A mobile transmitter was seen at Tabriz during the time of the Russian occupation, and is said to have

an antenna 60 metres high. The Chief of General Staff believes this to be the radio which has recently been transmitting propaganda to the Azerbaijanis and promising "liberation" from "reactionary elements."

8. The day for the rumoured Russian-aided advance into Azerbaijan (13th December) has passed without any reports being received of any such "invasion" having started.

Fars

9. His Majesty's Consul, Shiraz, reports that Nasir Khan Qashqai called there on 5th December and was leaving on 6th December for Kazerun to collect arms from his tribe for surrender to Government.

Military

10. On 13th December, to commemorate the anniversary of the liberation of Azerbaijan, a military review was held at Tehran. Troops from all arms, mainly from the two divisions of the Tehran garrison, but including the Palace Guards, representative parties from other divisions and officers from the Ministry of War, Staff College and Officers' College, were drawn up in a semi-circle on the race course. After inspection by the Shah, the parade marched past the royal box, headed by officers from the Ministry of War, marching nine abreast. One could not help reflecting on the imaginary spectacle of some hundreds of officers of all ranks, ages, shapes and sizes from our own War Office marching down Whitehall at the head of a grand review of the armed might of Britain, and wondering how they would compare. At least they might refrain from bowing to the crowd and saluting independently with their swords any of their acquaintances they chanced to see!

The parade took about 2½ hours to complete the march past, the mechanised forces—tanks, artillery and service corps—following the horse and foot. Two squadrons of the Persian air force also took part. The turn-out of the troops, with some exceptions, was quite good, and though many had been waiting on parade for several hours before their turn came to pass the saluting base, most of them marched past with some show of pride and keenness. A very large and enthusiastic crowd witnessed the parade. In fact, police control at times was ineffective and the crowd surged in front

of the military attaché's stand, obstructing the view of the parade.

11. On the same day other smaller parades were held at various military stations in the provinces. The Chief of the General Staff informed the military attaché that it was intended to hold similar reviews annually in future on 13th December.

Indian Interests

12. Owing to the political crisis, and consequent delay in business, the Indian Ambassador designate, Mr. Ali Zahir, has not yet been received in audience by the Shah for presentation of his letters of credence.

13. Mr. A. T. G. Wilson, former superintendent in the External Affairs Department of the Government of India, who arrived some time ago as Indian Consul-General designate for Zahidan, is still at Tehran as the agreement of the Persian Government has not yet been obtained to his appointment.

Russian Interests

14. Reference military attaché's Intelligence Summary No. 48, dated 9th December, 1947, paragraph 16. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has informed us that M. Niazof is recognised as consular agent—not consul, as previously stated.

Tehran, 16th December, 1947

The military attaché's Intelligence Summary No. 48, dated 9th December, 1947, paragraph 16. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has informed us that M. Niazof is recognised as consular agent—not consul, as previously stated.

The military attaché's Intelligence Summary No. 48, dated 9th December, 1947, paragraph 16. The Persian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has informed us that M. Niazof is recognised as consular agent—not consul, as previously stated.